

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 090 904

HE 005 539

TITLE College Transfer. Working Papers and Recommendations from the Airlie House Conference 2-4, December 1973.

NOTE 148p.

EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.75 HC-\$6.60 PLUS POSTAGE

DESCRIPTORS *Articulation (Program); *College Students; Conference Reports; *Higher Education; *Student Mobility; Student Problems; *Transfer Students

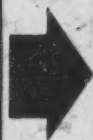
ABSTRACT

Six conference working papers concerning the transfer student are presented. They cover: issues in solving the transfer problems; transfer standards and the public interest; substantive issues in the transfer problem; the transfer student dimension of articulation; organizing approaches to facilitate student mobility in postsecondary education; and the high cost of transferring. Major conclusions suggest that changes in policy and practice most beneficial to transfer students will result from: (1) establishing the transfer student on an equitable basis with the native student; (2) providing the student exact and full information necessary to his academic progress, and providing the counseling that must accompany it, both on an institutional and an areawide basis; and (3) improving or devising means in addition to course completion for assessing competence and awarding credit. Additional recommendations are directed toward faculties, institutional administrative officers, accrediting agencies, state agencies, legislators and Federal executive agencies, and to national organizations. (HJM)

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COLLEGE



TRANSFER

**WORKING PAPERS AND RECOMMENDATIONS
FROM THE AIRLIE HOUSE CONFERENCE
2-4, DECEMBER 1973**

HE005589

COLLEGE **TRANSFER**

WORKING PAPERS AND RECOMMENDATIONS
FROM THE AIRLIE HOUSE CONFERENCE
2-4, DECEMBER 1973

ISSUED BY THE ASSOCIATION TRANSFER GROUP
AND THE OTHER CONFERENCE SPONSORS

APRIL 30, 1974

A copy of this volume has been mailed to the presidents of each member institution of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, the Association of American Colleges, and the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges. In addition, these papers will be available through the ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education. While the supply lasts, a limited number of single copies are obtainable from the sponsoring associations.

Additional copies of the Airlie House Conference Recommendations may be obtained from the Conference sponsors.

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The Association Transfer Group

The Association Transfer Group is an informal assembly of representatives of associations and organizations with interests in postsecondary education. It was first convened in October 1972 by the American Council on Education as a partial response to recommendations of the Commission on Non-Traditional Study and to requests for assistance by the Federal Interagency Committee on Education. ATG's membership includes all of the cosponsors of the Airlie House Conference on College Transfer except the Carnegie Corporation and the National Articulation Project.

The Association Transfer Group undertook to consider in some depth the issues faced by colleges in accommodating to the needs of itinerant students. A first project was cooperation in the development of a proposal for the extension of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges' Servicemen's Opportunity College concept to four-year institutions. That effort, funded by the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education and the Department of Defense, is under way with the American Association of State Colleges and Universities serving as the administrative agent with an advisory board composed of ATG members and others.

The Airlie House Conference grew out of the ATG's own analysis of the present transfer situation and the attempts that have been made to improve it. ATG concluded that before planning future action, it needed to identify those areas in which institutions may need to consider a number of alternatives in relation to their own character, their mandated roles, their real and potential clienteles, and other factors. Frederick C. Kintzer, who was completing the second phase of his National Articulation Project funded by EXXON, joined with the ATG to plan the Conference.

Foreword

This book is addressed to those who wish to help qualified persons to benefit from the academic programs of our postsecondary institutions. It deals with policies relating to transfer of academic credit from one institution to another and with means for changing or circumventing such policies when excessive bureaucratization, unexamined premises, or neglect have turned them into unnecessary barriers to academic success.

The Airlie House Conference on College Transfer is one of a number of efforts to meet squarely issues that were raised by the Commission on Non-Traditional Study and that are related to the concerns of commissions, agencies, and institutions in redefining the roles of postsecondary education in a time of inflation, reduced enrollments, and financial stringency. Adoption of the Conference recommendations in a form suited to special local conditions should go a long way toward resolving many problems encountered by both students and institutions.

In the belief that many groups addressed in the recommendations will benefit from thoughtful attention to the Conference working papers, this publication is being distributed to members of the sponsoring associations. In addition (as noted on page ii), provision for wider distribution and reproduction has been made.

For the Association Transfer Group, the publication is an initial, not a terminal step in encouraging modifications in the transfer process. The next steps are to assist those to whom recommendations are addressed in presenting and considering the issues in their own forums. In this, ATG will have special assistance from several groups including the ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education, which will provide documentary and bibliographical assistance.

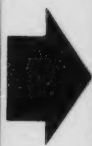
The participants in the Conference were fully aware of the difficulty of altering policies that have become as firmly embedded in institutional and governmental systems as are particles in sedimentary rocks. Nevertheless, the benefits accruing to students and institutions fully justify the attempts that now will be made to revise policy and practice.

W. Todd Furniss
Chairman, Airlie House Conference
on College Transfer

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Recommendations from Airlie House Conference

The Setting and the Issue

Full opportunity in postsecondary education in the 1970s demands special attention to removing the barriers encountered by students whose circumstances or academic goals require that they transfer from one institution to another. Among institutions, about one out of every four full-time freshmen will transfer during their college careers. In 1973, thousands of "itinerant" students—young and mature, women and men, prepared formally or by experience or by both—faced the transfer policies and practices of the institutions they wished to receive them. For many, the encounter resulted in frustration, delay, and discouragement.

A survey of these experiences, the recommendations of the Commission on Non-Traditional Study, and requests for assistance from the Federal Interagency Committee on Education led to the establishment of the Association Transfer Group (ATG), convened by the Office of Academic Affairs of the American Council on Education. ATG is an informal assembly of representatives of associations and organizations with interests in postsecondary education (for members, see pages 5-6).

The College Transfer Conference, sponsored by the Association Transfer Group and funded by ATG, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Exxon Foundation, and the Federal Interagency Committee on Education, was held at the Airlie Conference Center, Warrenton, Virginia, 2-4 December 1973. The 96 participants came from institutions, associations, state and federal agencies, and other organizations involved with postsecondary education. Background papers dealing with the general issue and four subsets of issues—student aptitude or potential, substance of academic programs, students' problems, organization of effort—were distributed in advance. At the meeting a report was made on financial issues related to transfer. For most of the conference, the participants were divided into groups matching the subset issues and were asked to provide a set of written recommendations relating to their assigned problems.

Discussion was so lively and the time pressure so great that no attempt could be made at the conference to refine the recommendations of the groups, assure their completeness, set them in priority relationship to one another, or debate all of them in full forum. Following the conference, the present summary was prepared and mailed to the participants for comment and modification, but not for formal approval or a vote.

The issue: How can the policies and practices in postsecondary education be modified to accommodate better the needs of students who, in increasing numbers, transfer from one institution to another?

Conference Sponsored by

American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers
American Association of Community and Junior Colleges
American Association of State Colleges and Universities
American College Testing Program
American Council on Education
Association of American Colleges
College Entrance Examination Board

Educational Testing Service
Federal Interagency Committee on Education
National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges
Carnegie Corporation of New York
U.S. Office of Education
National Articulation Project of the Community College Leadership Program [at UCLA], funded by Exxon Foundation

Major Conclusions of the Conference

- **Special Emphasis.** Changes in policy and practice most beneficial to transfer ("itinerant") students will result from
 - establishing the transfer student on an equitable basis with the native student;
 - providing the student exact and full information necessary to his academic progress, and providing the counseling that must accompany it, both on an institutional and an areawide basis;
 - improving or devising means in addition to course completion for assessing competence and awarding credit.
- **The Primacy of Institutions.** Responsibility for establishing and applying transfer policies and practices that affect itinerant students belongs to the institutions.
- **Coordinated Action.** Because transfer, by definition, involves more than one institution, the transfer issue (unlike other academic issues) necessitates coordinating the internal policies and practices of two or more institutions.
- **Third Parties.** Although unilateral action by an institution and coordination among institutions are essential, developing adequate transfer practices requires assistance from other parties at regional, state, national, and sometimes international levels. Such assistance includes: providing opportunities for interinstitutional negotiation, legitimizing new policies, developing assessment instruments, estimating demand, following up on results, exchanging information, and funding experiments.
- **Organization.** Beneficial changes in transfer policies can be achieved through existing institutions and organizations. One need is to study further a limited number of new structures that may improve the results.

About the Recommendations

The character of the conference was such that the following recommendations are offered as suggestions by the participants as individuals (not as representatives of institutions or organizations) for serious and early consideration by all those whose roles include direct or indirect influence on the academic progress of itinerant students.

A Common Element. To the receiving institution, the values that accrue from admitting new students beyond the freshman year more often than not far outweigh any disadvantages. Yet the itinerant student often deals with institutional policies that are designed to exclude rather than to facilitate entry. Underlying all the recommendations that follow is a conviction

that institutional policies are usually the most serious barriers obstructing the individual who, for voluntary or involuntary reasons, wants to enroll in two or more educational institutions to complete an academic program. Because degree and certificate programs of study are central to postsecondary education and because satisfactory completion of such programs is a recognized measure of individual competency, institutions have both the right and the responsibility of determining which applicant can profit best from their programs and should be granted admission. In this context, the conference was chiefly concerned with the means to encourage itinerant students and facilitate their entry and reentry.

Recommendations Addressed to Meet the Needs of Transfer Students

TO FACULTIES

Equality of Credit

Establish and publicize criteria for validation of prior educational experiences (for example, grade-point average required for junior status) which do not differentiate between native and transfer students.

Nontraditional Education and Means of Evaluation

Establish and publicize criteria for assigning credit to nontraditional educational experiences (for example, mili-

tary, technical, vocational, experiential, industrial, cooperative, independent study, internship, and related modes of education) through nontraditional evaluation procedures such as challenge exams, as well as the College Level Examination Program, the College Proficiency Examination Program, the American Council on Education's Office on Educational Credit (formerly Commission on the Accreditation of Service Experiences), and other national testing and evaluation programs.

Academic Requirements

Examine course prerequisites, residency requirements, faculty and departmental permission requirements for course enrollment, and admission and graduation requirements to

determine whether they are explicit, consistent, relevant, nondiscriminatory, and necessary.

Competency and Course Completion

Undertake research on protocols for determining competency, and begin process of broadening degree requirements to include, in addition to course completion, the recognition of competencies attained, regardless of how, when, or where.

Modular Courses

Modularize courses to permit attainment of prerequisites without registration for an entire course and to facilitate matching of courses in sending and receiving institutions.

TO INSTITUTIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS

Interinstitutional Cooperation

Foster opportunities for personal interaction between parallel representatives of sending and receiving institutions on a regional or state basis.

Office of Articulation

Establish an Office of Articulation, with a director who would report to a senior institutional administrator (e.g., vice-president) and be assisted in policy development by a standing committee including students, faculty, administrators, financial aid officer, registrar, admissions and records personnel, and student affairs staff member.

Information

Develop and publish detailed information about transfer for each academic major or field of concentration, including recommended pretransfer courses and posttransfer requirements, and specify the academic officer responsible for answering the transfer student's questions concerning each listed program. Improve course descriptions to aid receiving institutions in assessing courses for credit.

Appeals Procedure

Establish, publicize, and appropriately staff an appeals mechanism providing due process for the itinerant student.

Costs and Financial Aid

Eliminate wherever possible existing differentials in per-credit cost between part-time and full-time students; prorate fees according to student load, and eliminate from financial aid and scholarship criteria any discrimination against student status.

Incentives

Through a program of incentives for faculty, encourage research and experimentation in the assessment of learning

experiences and in the modularizing of courses and competency units.

Institutional Mission

Provide leadership in defining the institutional mission and program and course objectives, and in developing accurate publicity for these so that potential students can make well-informed choices about the college and its offerings.

TO ACCREDITING AGENCIES

Recognition

Emphasize acceptability of varied approaches to, and sources of, learning (military, proprietary, experiential, etc.). Focus on: (1) competency achievement as a measure of progress, (2) appropriately validated credit from non-traditional educational resources and from institutions working toward accreditation, (3) the propriety for some students of stopping in and out of institutions, and (4) the benefits to professions of improved transfer policies.

Consumer Protection

As a consumer protection service, assist institutions in developing and publicizing statements clearly defining program and course objectives, and assist in conducting regular follow-up studies to ascertain student achievement of these objectives.

Meetings

Sponsor regional articulation meetings that concentrate on the development and review of guidelines for smooth transition for the continuing student from secondary school through lower- and upper-division colleges and graduate and professional schools.

TO STATE AGENCIES

One Agency

By legislative or executive authority, establish and designate one agency at the state level to coordinate all matters relating to transfer.

Meetings

Assemble representatives of all postsecondary institutions involved in sending or receiving students, to meet on a regular basis for the purpose of resolving problems with respect to itinerant students.

Data

Establish procedures to collect data that will identify specific transfer problems and their locus.

Funding

Recommend procedures for allocating state funds and for awarding student financial aid to assure equitable opportunity for all full-time and part-time students continuing their education. Give particular attention to the higher costs of instruction for upper-division students, tuition equalization for transfer and native students, and the portability of financial aid between institutions.

Guidelines

Assist institutions to develop guidelines for solving problems of the itinerant student in an orderly, organized, and responsible manner, and provide for continuing machinery to implement the guidelines and to evaluate and correct procedures.

Incentives and Assessment

Encourage intrastate cooperation by suggesting specific goals that would represent progress, providing incentives and rewarding achievement of goals.

Information Network

Work with the Education Commission of the States (ECS) to develop an information network displaying statewide postsecondary educational resources for potential students, using a decentralized counseling staff and sophisticated computer services. (See also recommendation to ECS under "National Organizations.")

TO LEGISLATORS AND FEDERAL EXECUTIVE AGENCIES

Research on New Paths to Credit

Undertake or fund research on nontraditional education that focuses on: numbers of institutions and students involved in various categories of nontraditional educational experiences; identification of model approaches to the effective evaluation of competence-based, as compared with process-based, educational experiences; conversion of nontraditional experience into credit units or other academic "counters" with recognized equivalency for degree candidates; and alternative routes to degrees such as the credit bank and related external degree programs.

Information Systems

Support the development of repository systems (reference catalogs) of institutional programs and transfer policies, to serve itinerant students as a widely available and continually updated profile of such institutional characteristics.

Brokerage Services and Advisement Centers

Encourage the Education Commission of the States to draft model state or regional educational advisement centers or

"brokerage services" as described in recommendation to the ECS under "National Organizations."

TO NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Institutional Associations

Associations representing institutions and their major organizational components (e.g., colleges of teacher education, business, engineering) should inform their constituencies directly and through state and regional counterparts about the nature of transfer problems and recommendations for their resolution; assist them in establishing contacts with persons or agencies that can help; maintain a high level of expertise in current developments, especially as they relate to the needs of their constituencies; and be prepared to administer short-term programs on behalf of several associations.

Specialized Associations and Organizations

Associations of students, faculty members, administrators, and governing board members, and of specialists in research, testing, guidance, student services, and financial aid should review the problems of itinerant students and recommendations for their resolution, and take action to assist their members or clients to carry out their responsibilities. The means should include: providing information, establishing task forces to develop guidelines, conducting meetings, and assisting in generating funds for programs of general applicability.

Education Commission of the States

Draft models for state or regional educational advisement centers or "brokerage services" to be available through community agencies (e.g., the public libraries) which would constitute a network of information about traditional and nontraditional educational resources available to the potential student seeking information and counseling about the range of postsecondary educational opportunities in that area.

Foundations

Foundations should continue or initiate support for short-range or mid-range programs designed to encourage action on the recommendations of the conference.

Association Transfer Group

ATG should inform appropriate agencies of their potential roles in carrying out the conference recommendations, suggest action, keep account of action taken, serve as a center for the exchange of information, and assist in the establishment of appropriate practices and policies to serve the needs of every itinerant student in every postsecondary institution.

Who's Who of the Conference

Association Transfer Group. American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers, American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, American Association of State Colleges and Universities, American College Testing Program, American Council on Education, Association of American Colleges, College Entrance Examination Board, Educational Testing Service, Federal Interagency Committee on Education, National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges

Sponsors of the Airlie House Conference. The members of the Association Transfer Group; Carnegie Corporation of New York; United States Office of Education; National Articulation Project of the Community College Leadership Program (funded by the Exxon Foundation) at University of California, Los Angeles

Conference Planning Consultant. NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Science

Participants in the Conference

Ernest W. Beals, College Entrance Examination Board; *Robert B. Beckman*, Engineers Council for Professional Development; *Lee J. Betts*, American Association of Community and Junior Colleges; *John L. Blackburn*, National Association of Student Personnel Administrators; *Bruce Blackstone*, U.S. Office of Education; *Douglas F. Bodwell*,* American Council on Education; *Nathan Brodsky*, American University; *Foster Buchtel*,* American Association of State Colleges and Universities

Harold Cannon, National Endowment for the Humanities; *Robert Carbone*, A Study of Alternative Tuition Systems; *Richard G. Cashwell*, University of North Carolina; *Martha Church*, Federation of Regional Accrediting Commissions of Higher Education; *Douglas Conner*,* American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers; *Robert F. Corcoran*, Education Commission of the States; *Thomas Courtice*, Hamline University; *K. Patricia Cross*, Educational Testing Service

Robert Darnes, Illinois Junior College Board; *G. Bruce Dearing*, State University of New York; *E.T. Dunlap*, Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education; *William G. Dwyer*, Massachusetts Board of Regional Community Colleges

Karin Egan, Carnegie Corporation of New York

Gary Filerman, Association of University Programs in Health Administration; *Miles Fisher*, National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education; *Susan Fratkan*,* National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges; *Richard A. Fulton*, Association of Independent Colleges and Schools; *W. Todd Furniss*,* American Council on Education, and chairman of the Association Transfer Group

E. Ernst Giesecke, Sangamon State University; *William A. Goddard*, National Association of Trade and Technical

Schools; *Glenn A. Goerke*, Florida International University; *William Graham*, United States Armed Forces Institute; *Graham Green*, National Institute of Education; *Jack C. Guistwhite*, Florida Atlantic University

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George B. Lane,* Federal Interagency Committee on Education; *Jack Lavery*, Virginia Community Colleges; *Carole Leland*, LaGuardia Community College; *Ray Lewis*, Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education

Samuel Magill,* Association of American Colleges; *Marie Y. Martin*,* U.S. Office of Education; *S.V. Martorana*, Pennsylvania State University; *Rolf Mattar*, American University; *Leland Medsker*, University of California, Berkeley; *E. Gerald Meyer*, Council of Colleges of Arts and Sciences; *Bernard Michael*,* Federal Interagency Committee on Education; *Cyril Mill*, NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Science; *Jerry W. Miller*,* American Council on Education; *Leo Munday*, American College Testing Program

James F. Nickerson,* American Association of State Colleges and Universities; *David Nolan*,* Educational Testing Service; *Donald J. Nolan*, New York State Education Department; *George J. Nolfi, Jr.*, University Consultants, Inc.

William R. O'Connell, Jr., Southern Regional Education Board; *Eugene E. Oliver*, University of Illinois

Moses Passer, American Chemical Society; *Lewis Patterson*, American Association for Higher Education; *Frank Price*, Washington State Board for Community College Education

Philip Rever, American College Testing Program; *Leslie Ross*, U.S. Office of Education; *John Ryan*, Council of Graduate Schools in the United States

Charles B. Saunders, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; *Walter T. Schoen*, Educational Testing Service; *Nancy K. Schlossberg*, American Council on Education; *Gloria Scott*, National Institute of Education; *Ronald Slone*, American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business; *Abbie O. Smith*, George Washington University; *Norvel Smith*, University of California, Berkeley; *John J. Sullivan*, U.S. Department of Defense

John Valentine, College Entrance Examination Board; *Carol Van Alstyne*, American Council on Education; *Edward J. Van Klobeg*, American University; *Dyckman Vermilye*, American Association for Higher Education

*Organization representative to the Association Transfer Group

Robert Waller, University of Illinois; *Paul Ward*, American Historical Association; *James Wattenbarger*, University of Florida; *Richard Weber*, Association of American Geographers; *Warren W. Willingham*, Educational Testing Service; *Robin S. Wilson*, Committee on Institutional Cooperation; *Richard M. Witter*, American Association of Community and Junior Colleges; *Elizabeth Wooten*, Modern Language Association of America

Kenneth E. Young,* American College Testing Program

Jessie Ziegler, American Association of Theological Schools

Background papers for the College Transfer Conference:

- "Toward Solving Transfer Problems," by W. Todd Furniss and Marie Y. Martin
- "Transfer Standards and the Public Interest," by Warren W. Willingham
- "Substantive Issues in the Transfer Problem," by G. Bruce Dearing
- "The Transfer Student Dimension of Articulation," by Frederick C. Kintzer
- "Organizing Approaches to Facilitate Student Mobility in Postsecondary Education," by S.V. Martorana
- "The High Cost of Transferring," by Carol Van Alstyne

have been mailed to the president of each member institution of American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, American Association of State Colleges and Universities, Association of American Colleges, and National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges. In addition, the papers are available through the ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education.

Toward Solving Transfer Problems

W. Todd Furniss
Director, Office of Academic Affairs
American Council on Education and
Chairman, Association Transfer Group
and

Marie Y. Martin
Director, Community College Education
Bureau of Higher Education
U.S. Office of Education

The problems of transfer students and the institutions that are asked to accommodate them have been under study by the authors and their colleagues in the Association Transfer Group. This paper is an attempt to present some of our conclusions to date, to offer a context within which we believe improvements in transfer practices may be sought, and to identify five major unresolved issues which, after elaboration in other papers in this volume, will be the basis for discussion at the Airlie House Conference December 2-4, 1973. Assumptions that lie behind the paper and are not debated in it include:

- Transfer problems exist. There are problems for students and would-be students, raising in turn problems for colleges and universities, legislatures, federal and state agencies, proprietary schools, and others. Many of these we have characterized as "barriers to transfer." A list of characteristic ones is to be found in the Appendix.
- Transfer problems can be solved -- at least some of them -- to the benefit of students and institutions. We have accumulated considerable data both on solutions now being used and on others proposed. Reference to them will appear in the materials prepared for the conference.
- Some problems in some settings are more amenable to solution than others. Given the variety of students, of institutions, of institutional location, and of sponsorship (to name only a few variables), what may work in one place may not work, or be of trivial value, elsewhere.
- The time to act is now. Concentrating on the reduction of transfer barriers in 1973 and 1974 takes advantage of the widening awareness of the desirability of new options for students of all ages coupled with new social and financial pressures to reexamine all aspects of "business as usual."
- Many groups have a role. Although benefits to the individual student arise from his direct contacts with institutions and certain organizations (e.g., colleges, educational testing services, counseling centers), nevertheless

other groups ranging from legislatures to federal agencies to educational associations influence how decision makers understand the nature of the problems and steps that may profitably be taken or avoided.

- Much is already being done that need not be replicated. Some of it is referred to elsewhere in this volume, or is implied in the topics. For example, the work of Warren Willingham, Fred Kintzer, Samuel Gould and others contributed to the analysis offered here. We have, however, tried not to repeat the descriptive parts of their work.

Contexts and Issues

The United States today is trying out a socially mandated experiment: to give all who are qualified and might benefit from it a chance at postsecondary education. This approach differs from the one that preceded it, which in essence said that the top jobs in the country should be reserved for the very "best" of all who might qualify and benefit, and that the function of the educational institutions (particularly colleges and universities) was to screen the possibles to be sure only the "best" got the jobs.

In the beginning the top jobs were primarily the "literary" occupations (teaching and preaching, law and medicine); however the list gradually expanded to include all of the professions as well as leadership positions in business and industry, government, etc. (This occurred despite the fact that research to date shows little or no relation between academic success and success in later life, except in a few selected career areas.)

To carry out the earlier functions, colleges and universities established procedures that can be thought of as closed gates. The first was at the entry point itself, where a "go/no-go" decision was made. For the "go's," the gate was opened; the institution had no responsibility for the "no-go's." Subsequent closed gates confronted those initially admitted. The principal ones were located at the entrances to professional and graduate programs. The operation of these gates (and other gates) was primarily controlled by what can be called academic aptitude, although socioeconomic factors and even the chronological age of the applicant played a role.

The new approach differs from the old in several important respects: First, all of the great variety of postsecondary institutions, not just colleges and

universities, are considered as contributing to the new social goal. Second, the vast majority of these institutions, including most colleges and universities, are expected to be open to all who qualify and could benefit, not just to the "best," and these students are to be given a chance to succeed. Third, other socially valuable talents, in addition to but not exclusive of academic aptitude, are to be appropriately recognized and developed. Fourth, such extraneous factors as chronological age are to be removed as keys to the gate.

Postsecondary education, broadly defined, may handle as many as 60 million students annually. Although enrollments in junior and senior colleges and universities are only a fraction of this number, nevertheless the fraction is more than 9 million. Of these, several million are enrolled in institutions -- mainly junior and community colleges (2.6 million) and an increasing number of four-year colleges -- that already have open-door policies and few or no restrictions on age. (In fact, with declining enrollments, some institutions are beginning to recruit aggressively among potential adult students.) Transfer among these institutions presents fewer problems than between them and institutions with traditional closed-door policies.

The student in good standing who wishes to transfer from one institution to another usually assumes that the sole key to the closed door is elapsed time. If he has spent three semesters in the sending institution, it is only right that he enter the fourth semester in the receiving institution. The receiving institution, however, makes its decision on the basis of two quite different considerations, those that relate to aptitude and those associated with the substance of the student's program.

Issue #1 - Aptitude

We may assume that students in good standing who apply for transfer represent a wide range of aptitude, whether we are talking of their basic intelligence or their ability to do academic and professional work. Although as a group the nation's institutions have native students representing the same wide range of aptitude, yet the individual institutions receiving transfer students vary considerably in the aptitude distribution of their students.

A receiving institution with a wide range of native student aptitude should have little trouble accepting any potential transfer student, but an institution with a narrow aptitude range among native students may have reason to exclude

some potential transfers to protect its existing mix, for which, presumably, its program is specially designed. Thus, a closed-door policy of some sort may be understandable. However, details of the policy might be changed without changing the aptitude mix: for example, age limitations on transfer might be abolished.

If it is possible to change the exclusionary policies to admit more transfer students without forfeiting the desired aptitude mix, the appropriateness of such changes may depend on other factors than selectivity, ones that will be considered below. But assuming the desirability of selectivity by aptitude, it is important to look at the measures colleges use for indicating the aptitude of transfer (or resident) students. These measures have focussed almost entirely on academic aptitude, as shown by the ability to earn grades and obtain high test scores -- primarily verbal ability.

Traditionally, a receiving institution determines the measures it uses both for admissions and performance. Performance measures are almost always the grades awarded by the local faculty and are seldom normed against external or national standards. Freshman admissions standards in closed-door institutions, on the other hand, almost invariably include such measures as those developed by the College Entrance Examination Board and American College Testing Program. At the graduate and professional levels, the Graduate Record Examination and various professional admissions tests perform the same functions.

External standards applicable to transfer admissions are not as common or widely used. Instead, institutions conventionally have relied on grades awarded by the sending institution. The diversity of institutions and their grading standards creates a problem whenever transfer is between dissimilar institutions because it is widely assumed (on some good evidence) that one institution's C may be another's E (or A). In the absence of a national institutional rating scheme, several measures have been adopted and are variously in use to supplement or replace dependence on grades alone. Among them are:

- Accreditation -- taking transfers only from regionally accredited institutions. Enforced, this eliminates almost all proprietary school or nonaccredited institutional students no matter what their performance.
- National examinations -- CLEP, ACT, USAFI, etc. A growth industry despite considerable variation in the extent to which individual institutions recognize certain grades by the award of placement or credit.

- Commission on the Accreditation of Service Experiences (CASE) -- accepting the recommendations of CASE for the award of credit for non-collegiate instruction in the military services.

- Reexamination -- by the receiving institution. Accomplished by giving the transfer student a local course-end exam or by enrolling him in a higher course and awarding credit for the lower one taken elsewhere if he passes the higher one.

- Recognition of the AA degree -- by admitting the student holding the AA with a fixed credit whatever his standing in the sending institution (i.e., at the top of the class or at the bottom).

Measures such as these may assist the receiving institution to assess fairly exactly the aptitude of a transfer student with respect to its native students and therefore justify accepting or rejecting him. But the use of these measures does not change the policies of the receiving institution about the aptitude of the student it will admit.

Those familiar with institutional practices will have noted two common policies that may also be considered here. First is the unwillingness of the receiving institution to give credit for a grade of D from the sending institution despite their acceptance of a D by a native student for graduation credit. The second is setting an "age limit" on credits: if the grade was awarded more than a fixed number of years ago, it may not be transferrable.

Considering the issues raised by aspects of aptitude, the authors and their colleagues have agreed that:

- Selectivity based on aptitude is necessary and should be maintained in some institutions. The extent of selectivity (and therefore of exclusion) is a matter of major policy for each institution and institutional system. Decisions on selectivity should take into account the effects on transfer students, but should not be wholly determined by these effects.

- Considerable attention must be given to the further development and extension of reliable external measures normed nationally, although (to protect selectivity where it is needed) we do not recommend a universal acceptance standard for each measure.

Issue #2 - Substance

Under this rubric we consider the substance of a transfer student's program of courses, the component of the program we call socialization, and the relation of "residency requirements" to both of these.

In any transfer, the substance of what a student has learned and what he wants to learn is taken into account, and again, as in the case of aptitude, the differences among institutions come into the equations. The initial problem is one of program-matching. If the sending and receiving institutions have nearly identical programs and courses within them, and the student wants to continue what he has begun, then transfer is relatively easy. It is more complex when the sending and receiving institutions use different means to accomplish roughly the same ends (e.g., to prepare a student in American history). In this case, the acceptability to the receiving institution of courses completed in the sending institution is limited by a lack of course-matching. Transfer is further complicated or even made impossible if the receiving institution does not offer a program the student has begun or may wish to take in the new institution.

For these reasons, in the present scheme of things the possibilities for a student to transfer with full credit and without loss of time will be limited to those institutions (and therefore a limited number) that duplicate the program he is leaving. The problem he faces could be resolved by:

- Persuading the student not to leave his institution.
- Persuading the receiving institution to offer a program not now being offered.
- Persuading the student to change his program.
- Persuading the sending institution to contract with the student to give him a degree if he is able to put together from other institutions a collection of courses similar to the remainder of his program were he to stay.
- Setting up a credit bank and degree-granting program outside a college which would allow the student to complete a degree by contract without taking instruction under the degree-granting entity.

All these solutions try to deal with the Procrustean bed problem -- that of a fit between student preparation, desire, and location, and the limited availability of programs to meet his requirements. The credit-bank model reduces, but does not eliminate, the locational problems. The student will still have to learn somewhere, and much of the learning cannot be done at home or on the job in all but a very few kinds of programs. Therefore, the model cannot guarantee that he will be where he can learn what the program requires for the degree.

In recent years, attempts have been made to meet the problems by expanding enormously the numbers of institutions accessible to students and the scope of programs in existing institutions. Emphasis has been put on programs in most demand, so that degrees in English and secondary education are widely available, but those in Greek and forestry are not. The further geographical expansion of low-demand programs seems not to be feasible today, although eventual expansion through technical developments is a possibility.

The transfer of vocational-technical courses from junior colleges and proprietary schools for credit in institutions with nonvocational programs, although of great concern to the sending institutions and their students, is not so much a special case as a subset of the substance questions already considered. It raises sharply, however, the question of whether there is a principle of convertibility that has been overlooked: can a vocational course be converted to an "academic" course on transfer to a nonvocational bachelor's program, and if so, under what circumstances? The best experience in this so far seems to be with the CASE program. It should be noted that CASE does not recommend credit for all military training programs, but rather credit only for the academic components of them where they exist. CASE does not work magic to make vocational training suddenly into academic training. It simply identifies the academic elements. (CASE will soon add vocational-technical credit recommendations to its current academic ones.) One may ask whether the rigidity of some institutions in insisting on duplicate courses within an academic program before transfer credit is granted is reasonable.

Apart from questions related to course content, "socialization" as an element of the substance of the college experience is one of the effects of education most determinedly claimed by many institutions, but particularly those that deal with the young in relatively high-cost residential settings. The research on this subject suggests that changes in attitudes and values do indeed take place in students and uniformly, and they persist throughout life. Further, small residential colleges most frequently offer the best conditions to exert desirable and uniform effects on student development, impacts of different colleges vary according to the types of students who attend them, and the "image" of a college significantly determines the kinds of students attracted to it. In

the light of these findings, some institutions may well prefer to have only full-program students and not try to socialize in their own way very large numbers of transfers from other kinds of institutions.

Institutions inhabited by in-and-out students or adults, or without residence facilities, seem to survive with no more emphasis on socialization than occurs in the separate classrooms and in student activities for which the students select themselves. For this kind of institution, there should be little difficulty in absorbing transfer students who meet academic performance criteria. For the student who transfers into such an institution from a more "protected" one, there may be problems of adjustment which suggest some special orientation and counseling if subsequent unhappiness or failure is to be avoided. But the institution can't be expected to turn itself into a residential liberal arts college for this reason.

The "socializing" college is faced with two sorts of problems: the mix it believes it must maintain to protect its socialization program, and how to select those transfers who will not disrupt the mix. If it maintains a special mix, then any student applying for transfer may have to show that he is already socialized to the level of native students at the same stage, and if he is not, then he may be excluded. Thus, as in the case of his academic aptitude and the substance of his program, there will be limitations on the institutions he can hope to transfer to. But even supposing that he is already adequately socialized, how can this be demonstrated? Course grades, CLEP results, and other measures of academic performance which receiving institutions accept for academic credit do not seem to fill the bill; information used for freshman admissions (e.g., letters from high school counselors) may not suffice for the admission of a junior, since it doesn't say what has happened in the intervening years. Do academic performance and the nature of the student's prior program indicate enough about socialization so that colleges do not need additional measures?

Related to the socialization problem is the "residency requirement." Such a requirement is not at all necessarily related to the level of the students' cognitive knowledge. (Evidence: the nongraduate of Yale walking through Yale's campus may far surpass any new graduate in cognitive skills.) The residency requirement does relate to: (a) the "value" of the college's degree to the institution and therefore the student, (b) money, and (c) the average student's social and cognitive development.

The "value" of a particular institution's degree is relative. If it is thought to represent a high quality of academic and social development, then it allows the institution to limit the award of its degree so that it will represent the quality. If the degree is thought to represent low quality, or fun and games, it will represent these by a kind of self-fulfillment. Thus, if good quality in higher education is desirable, institutional efforts to maintain the image of quality may in fact be justified in that a good image promotes quality itself. The "value" of a particular degree to a student rests therefore not just in the letters after his name when he leaves college but also in the benefits while he is attending college that derive from the institution's ability to attract good students and faculty and adequate support.

The residency requirement serves to preserve the institutional image by giving the institution a chance (one year or more), usually just prior to the award of the degree, to judge the students' performance up close and under varying conditions, so that it can refuse the degree to the inadequate, and thus protect the value of the degree. Essentially, this is a defensive, or negative reason, and suggests that the same purpose might be served by another device. It raises also the question whether a degree awarded for study without a period of institutional residence is to be considered a second class degree.

In the days of small colleges, small enrollment pressure, and competition for few students among many institutions, the award of the degree was based on a required residency for the full program that guaranteed students would stay and pay, with the degree as hostage for payment. In the '50s and '60s in growing public institutions, with more students than could be handled, there was no financial need to hold students in order to get their fees and acceleration became common even though residency requirements did not disappear, being held for other reasons. Whether -- and especially in what institutions -- the need now exists is a problem (see below -- financial considerations). If there is a reason to protect income, is the residency requirement a good way to do it?

Although there is no necessary relationship between cognitive and social development on the one hand and a particular period of attendance at a particular institution on the other, it is commonly thought that without that attendance, the development will take longer or be less effective. Evidence is plentiful

that young students do develop in both respects during extended periods on a campus; there is far less evidence that the same development is caused by such residence and would not have occurred under other conditions. (The University Without Walls, the British Open University, and Empire State College may provide that evidence.)

Even if a continuing association with a single campus is desirable, need it always be in the last part of the program? How long should it be? Do the usual terms of the "residency requirement" provide what is needed in the best way?

In considering these issues related to substance, the authors and their colleagues have agreed that:

- Institutions, no matter how comprehensive their programs, cannot be expected to provide every transfer student with the exact program he wants, whether it is a new choice or a continuation of his earlier program. Institutions with limited purposes and restricted resources may justifiably exclude students whose catch-up time would be excessive.

- The large numbers of postsecondary institutions in America, widely distributed geographically, give a misleading notion to students and others of the variety of options that may in fact be available to a particular transfer student. It is important, therefore, to consider which of these institutions in which locations might be designated in some formal way as welcoming transfer students and providing as unrestrictive admissions as possible.

- Institutions using a residency requirement, whether to maintain their own standards, their financial stability, or the social development of their students, should make clear the relations of the requirement to their program wherever the requirement may work to the disadvantage of transfer students.

Issue #3 - The Transfer Student

Considering transfer policies and practices from the point of view of the student is more complicated than it at first appears. Partly this results from definitional problems: is the student young or mature, a WASP or a minority, transferring voluntarily or involuntarily, self-supporting or dependent, well or poorly prepared, and so on? Depending on the answers, we may prescribe either a bandaid which cures his problems or massive therapy which may have no result.

Further, in some institutions his difficulties as a transfer student may be most easily overcome if we classify him as something else: a minority, a serviceman or veteran, or a member of some other group that gets special attention or benefits.

However he is classified, the transfer student is like other students in that he sees his educational experience through a limited number of contacts: those with faculty, other students, admissions personnel, advisers, and a variety of administrative officers, supplemented by printed material. He encounters these both at the sending and receiving institutions. His statement of his problems will likely be anecdotal, although he may abstract the experience to apply it to an institution as a whole ("No one here wants to help the student").

What appears to be most common to these experiences can be summed up in the concept of the transfer student as consumer, particularly as a consumer of an abundant but expensive commodity. Because of the expense, the student wants what he gets to be of good quality and honestly advertised. Postsecondary education is not the penny candy that can be discarded and replaced or foregone if it is unpalatable. Among the varieties of postsecondary education, despite the general abundance, some are in short supply, some are very costly, and some are for the particular student much more desirable than others.

In general, students (and their parents) are not well organized to affect either the supply of postsecondary education or the conditions under which it is delivered. These matters are determined by the colleges, legislators, Congressmen, and the taxpayer apart from his role as parent or student. Student leverage lies mainly in tuition, complaints to the institution, and complaints to external forces that may influence the institution. The leverage of tuition -- that is, deciding not to attend and therefore not to support -- is only moderately effective, especially where organized effort is lacking.

These considerations suggest that the colleges and universities have a social and even legal responsibility to provide a good product, to advertise it honestly, to advise the student adequately, and to eliminate practices that erect and maintain unnecessary barriers to the student's achieving his goals.

The authors and their associates agree that:

- Each institution may usefully examine those practices that affect transfer students in their contacts with the institution with a view toward modifications

that will give the students a realistic appraisal of the benefits the institution offers and the costs it exacts.

- In this consideration, attention should be given to the relative advantage to the student and the institution of classifying him as a transfer student or grouping him with others on the basis of different special characteristics (e.g., military status, sex, ethnic groupings).

- Associations representing admissions and counseling personnel, as well as those representing faculty members, should consider the preparation and adoption of guidelines for informing, recruiting, counseling and providing other services for transfer students.

Issue #4 - Organizing Efforts for Change

Changes in the present situation will follow decisions -- including decisions not to decide. Decisions that affect the lot of transfer students directly will be made most often in individual institutions, although they may be forced by decisions made elsewhere. It is worth considering briefly the interests and roles of the categories of decision makers and the levers they may use.

We have already referred to the lack of organization of students and their parents and the need for providing a form of consumer protection. Transfer students might find the best help in a central institutional officer who could lead them through the bureaucratic snarls, possibly an ombudsman, but it is also possible to simplify and clarify the bureaucratic paths so the student can find his own way.

In the institution we find the web of decisions at its most intricate, philosophically, procedurally, and economically. Whether a change benefiting transfer students requires a single decision that will be unchallenged or a host of decisions involving everyone from trustees to clerks depends on the nature of the change. The conventional, and probably still most effective, way to get complex decisions made and coordinated on campus is the establishment of a special group with a charge to analyze the issues and make recommendations before other leverages are used, such as the power of the purse. It is axiomatic that agreements reached in this way are likely to be more long-lasting than ones reached under a gun. Nevertheless, there has to be initiative and concern enough to ensure that the process is carried out: i.e., motivation. And it is likely that motivation to change transfer policies will be stronger where there are some

external carrots. Such stimuli can range from a sensitivity to individual student complaints to a threat of dwindling financial support to a realization somewhere in the institution that -- at least for some institutions -- the active encouragement of transfer students is an opportunity both to do good and to do well.

Once a program is decided upon, the leverage of persuasion (with legislators, Congress, donors, alumni, etc.) may have to be used to ensure external acceptance and support.

Without getting into current questions of priorities for tax money and impoundment of funds, we can recognize that legislative bodies and government agencies wish to use their power in two ways: to encourage "improvement" in postsecondary education (e.g., access, quality) and to demonstrate their accountability to the electors, which may require that they act against what they regard as bad practice. There are three levers: "leadership" -- persuading those who make decisions voluntarily to make them in the right way; money -- giving and taking away; and law, making bad practice illegal, making good practice mandatory, or correcting laws that are outmoded or serve as barriers.

Until recently, transfer policies as such were of little or no concern to governmental bodies, and even now they are of concern only as they seem to balk the progress of special categories of students like servicemen, women (an offshoot of the women's rights movement), minorities (ditto civil rights), junior college students in those states where the junior colleges were established on the assumption that transfer would be virtually automatic for students in good standing. It may be assumed that legislatures and government agencies will adopt for legislative and administrative action any suggestions that will permit them to encourage the social goals they represent and to demonstrate that their decisions are, in fact, in line with the accountability they owe to their constituencies. These suggestions for legislation and administration need not be their own inventions, or those of their staffs.

Postsecondary education associations stand between their members (institutions, parts of institutions, individuals) and the public (notably but not exclusively, legislative and administrative bodies), speaking to both, interpreting the hopes of one to the other, and trying to find common ground on which both can comfortably stand. Few (including AAUP, accrediting groups, unions) have or use sanctions. Instead, they use information, analysis, representation,

opportunities for discussion, recommendations, and publication as their chief levers to effect change on both sides.

No single association is able to undertake alone the resolution of a very complex problem, and need not try to do so. Cooperative efforts, with several associations sharing the work by undertaking separate elements, appear to be a useful approach in the transfer question.

In the transfer problem, if institutional practice were now as perfect as it will ever be, the associations would still have a job persuading students and government that this is the case, in order to stave off actions based on poor information that would exacerbate the situation. Conversely, if institutional practice (and governmental action) can be improved, the associations can and should help.

Organizations and individuals with special interests and capabilities (and perhaps axes to grind) are always at work on elements of a complex problem. In the case of transfer problems, the field is wide open but spottily populated. Some coordination of these efforts is in order.

In engaging these forces, would a shotgun or a rifle approach be best, or a combination of both? The shotgun approach makes the assumption that every issue is global, and of equal importance to all institutions, all students, all legislatures, and that a single effort (a shotgun blast) will solve it. The rifle approach assumes that for most of the issues, the targets are limited, easily identified, and hit most effectively with least effort by taking careful aim. The second possibility might be tested by a categorization of targets.

For transfer questions, it appears that the principal categories of institutions might be based on motivation to prepare or accept transfer students. For example: highly motivated institutions include:

- Four-year institutions (public or private) whose enrollments are falling and whose support from taxes or tuition is therefore dwindling.
- Public institutions which have been or may be mandated to modify their transfer policies.
- Two-year institutions whose attractiveness depends on their students' ability to be admitted to senior institutions.
- Proprietary institutions whose students are unable to transfer with credit to four-year institutions.

The list above exhibits positive motivations to change their own policies or to have policies changed. At the other end of the scale may be found institutions with little or no motivation for change.

- Institutions (private or public) so oversubscribed by freshman candidates that they need not change restrictive policies. (Question: Are some of the prestigious public institutions in this category vulnerable if they exclude in-state transfer students in favor of out-of-state freshmen?)
- Special purpose institutions for which there is no significant demand from transfer students.
- Institutions that already have adopted generous transfer policies that work well.

In between are some others, which might be motivated either way:

- Residential liberal arts colleges which are not now under pressure but which may anticipate having either to lower freshman admissions standards in order to keep the socialization part of their program intact or recruit more high-quality transfer students.
- Public colleges in reasonably stable condition which might recruit transfer students solely as a public social service.

Since the categories above are based on motivation to change themselves or not to (except for the proprietary, a special case), one may consider working only with those motivated to change, working to change the motivation of the reluctant, or both. Before deciding, we would want to have a better idea of both the effort required and the potential payoff.

The question arose in the Gould Commission whether existing institutions could adequately handle nontraditional study or whether new ones (e.g., the National University, a credit bank, etc.) were needed. It decided to stick with existing institutions.

Transfer problems for some students might be most readily solved by a national university if it existed now, but no such single institution would solve all the transfer problems of all students even if it did exist.

The authors and their associates have agreed that:

- Multiple efforts to reduce transfer barriers are needed, principally at the institutional level. These efforts should take into account the legitimate interests of the students, governmental agencies, and the public,

but should recognize that some institutions that are restrictive should remain so, that students should not expect entirely free choice of where they can go and when, as long as they can go somewhere that offers approximately (if not exactly) what they believe they need.

- In every effort to reduce transfer barriers, consideration needs to be given to the relations of the effort to be expended and the results to be obtained, in order that priorities may be properly assigned.

- In balancing needs, costs, and results, first emphasis should be put on the use of existing mechanisms, both on the campus and in systems, consortia, and other groupings, in the solution of transfer problems.

- Transfer policies voluntarily developed and adopted by institutions are likely to be more workable and therefore more beneficial to students and their colleges than those imposed by legislative mandate.

Issue #5 - Finances

Nothing reviewed in this paper escapes the problems of costs and benefits that today engage the attention of a host of state and national groups. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, the Council for Economic Development, the National Commission on the Financing of Postsecondary Education -- to name only a few -- are at work to devise and recommend ways in which personal and public resources can best be distributed among the purveyors and clients of postsecondary education. We do not propose to consider all the issues they are dealing with, but instead to focus on a few that relate directly to the transfer student.

Some of these deal with the direct services the institution gives or might give to transfer students. For example, upper-division institutions, of course, must enroll transfer students or they do not survive. Others, underenrolled, or underenrolled with the kinds of students they like, may recruit transfers. Still others prefer to replace drop-outs with freshmen, for a variety of reasons. For most, if not all institutions, the problem is not the transfer of students as such, but rather keeping the student body in a financially viable balance. If transfer students help the balance, they will be sought. If they put costly strains on the institutions, and a balance can be achieved without them, they will be avoided. Nevertheless, there are two financial problems closely linked with transfers: the costs of transfers and formulae for institutional support.

Recruiting, admitting, and advising transfer students calls for considerable staff time, just as the same services for freshmen do. In many institutions, the processes are set up only for high school recruiting, financial aid packages for freshmen, and other features associated with the beginning student. To have a parallel but different office for upper-division transfers, when vacancies can be filled at the freshman level, may seem an additional cost with no offsetting gains.

Potentially more significant, funding formulae for public institutions can be cast so as to favor the institution seeking to accommodate transfer students, but apparently in most cases they now have the opposite effect. Thus, where the formulae discourage the institution from helping transfers, and where the institution has reason to want to help, these formulae may need to be rewritten and sold to legislatures by political processes.

A subset of formula problems seems to arise in the often-claimed proposition that needed income is "lost" if transfer (or any) students are given credit toward graduation for examination scores earned elsewhere. We do not yet have any evidence about where and under what circumstances this problem exists, if it does.

Transfer students' financial problems differ from other students' financial problems only in limited respects. Among them are financial-aid formulae or special-donor provisions that favor the native student, and the operation of out-of-state tuition formulae.

An institution's use of limited financial aid money in its control may favor or disfavor transfer students. Decisions affecting the balance presumably will be made on other considerations than the fact that, say, one junior is a transfer student and another was admitted as a freshman, except that for the latter the institution may feel a special commitment to be justified.

Programs of scholarship aid initiated outside an institution may be designed to favor transfer students (or other categories, like veterans, that include transfer students) and thus make their admission so attractive as to induce an institution to make room for them, even at the expense of admitting freshmen.

Out-of-state tuition differentials are now under attack and we may expect to see further court decisions affecting them. Although they apply to all students and not transfer students alone, they may be especially significant for those transfer students whose need to transfer is caused by involuntary relocation: servicemen, spouses, and those whose parents or businesses require the

move. If preferential treatment for these were cast in the form of preferentially lower tuition, it is likely that those who do not qualify as "involuntary" transfers would have a legal ground for complaint. Preferential treatment in the form of a tuition subsidy, at least until state residence requirements could be met, might be preferable and skirt legal pitfalls.

The authors and their associates have agreed that:

- Although it is premature to predict the nature of a revision of the nation's overall policies for the funding of postsecondary education, it is appropriate to point out at this time that financial practices established for native students sometimes adversely affect transfer students, and that the increasing number of transfer students may present unrealized opportunities for institutions to recover a financial balance while fostering social benefits.

Each of the five issues introduced above requires analytical refinement, additional information, and suggestions for alternative solutions, some perhaps for wide adoption, some for use in special situations. The authors of the following papers have been commissioned to provide these so that discussion at the Airlie House conference need not begin at the very beginning, and can end with sound recommendations for action to be taken in the future.

APPENDIX

A Sampling of Barriers to Transfer

Lack of agreement on minimum grade point average
Lack of standardization of grading systems
Difficulty with pass/fail grading system
Lack of synchronized academic calendars
Lack of agreement on external degree standards
Lack of agreement on validity of credit for life experiences
Lack of agreement on validity of correspondence courses
Lack of agreement on validity of adult education courses
Lack of problem-specific counseling
Lack of standardized admission standards
Lack of agreement on core curricula
Lack of understanding of course content and objectives
Lack of coordination between admissions office and departmental requirements
Associate in Arts not recognized
Lack of agreement on acceptability of CLEP and USAFI tests
Lack of agreement on CLEP and USAFI test scores
Lack of agreement on external degree standards
Lack of agreement on credit by examination
Lack of recognition of educational experiences in the military
Lack of recognition of educational experiences in penal institutions
Remedial and technical courses not transferable
Discrepancies in residency requirements
Lack of compliance with state legal requirements
Discrepancies in financial aid: transfer & native students
Refusal to accept "old" credits
Undefined provisions for waiver of requirements
Lack of agreement on credits from accredited and non-accredited colleges
Lack of provision for transfer of credits from proprietary institutions

TRANSFER STANDARDS AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST

Warren W. Willingham
Executive Director for Program Research
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There are a variety of important policy issues concerning the movement of students among higher institutions. We are here concerned with only one of these issues -- the fact that student bodies at different institutions vary greatly in academic ability and the complications such variations create when students move from one college to another.

To frame the problem quite clearly, it is useful to state two assumptions that are at slight variance with the Furniss-Martin report, which these background papers are intended to extend. First, it seems useful to distinguish between two notions of "ability": (a) the transfer student's capability to succeed at the new institution, and (b) the student's prior academic preparation. We are concerned here with the former interpretation which is associated with such ideas as academic aptitude, the distribution of talent, and grading variations. The latter interpretation, while obviously related, involves a separable set of issues concerning especially curriculum, articulation, and credit policy. These latter issues seem more readily related to the substance of education, while this paper examines ability as it pertains to transfer admission standards.

As a second distinction, we are not so much concerned here with the question of whether an institution formally follows an open or a closed admissions policy, but rather with the more critical fact of substantial

de facto differences in ability among student bodies and resulting wide differences in academic standards across institutions. There are "open door" community colleges with some exceptionally selective programs; there are "selective" liberal arts colleges that would think twice before turning down an applicant. The important fact is that student bodies vary greatly in ability regardless of formal admission policy. Rational institutional policy regarding movement of transfer students must take that variation into proper account if higher education as a whole is to serve the public interest.

Figure 1 provides a good illustration of such variability. Each bar in this figure illustrates the range of Scholastic Aptitude Test scores for entering students in one of 27 public higher institutions in a single state. The bars representing individual institutions are arranged in descending order according to average SAT score in order to illustrate the very substantial differences among institutions. For example, there is virtually no score overlap between the three highest and the three lowest institutions. That is, a student at the 10th percentile of the SAT distribution in Institution B scores substantially higher than a student at the 90th percentile of the SAT distribution in Institution Y. This particular pair of institutions provides an extreme comparison, but it is obvious that random transfer of students among these institutions would frequently result in students meeting very different intellectual competition than that to which they had been accustomed.

There are, of course, many ways to define academic ability, but Figure 1 represents more than an arbitrary choice of data that happen to

be available. All tests of this character are heavily saturated with verbal and quantitative ability, and decades of research show that college grades are more dependent upon those mental abilities than any others we have been able to identify.

The data of Figure 1 provide a convenient illustration because they include all public institutions within the state. Corresponding data from other states might indicate somewhat higher or lower test scores, but there is no reason to believe that there would be less variation among institutions. Wide differences in the scholastic aptitude of students at different colleges have been discussed in detail (Darley, 1962) and are routinely documented in college guides (Dillenbeck and Wetzell, 1972; Furniss, 1973). We can say further that such institutional differences are an accepted part of American higher education. Two connected lines of reasoning underlie this meritocratic stratification.

One is the fact of wide variation in the supply of academic talent among college-going students; another is the generally accepted assumption that it is desirable to specialize education and training at levels appropriate to individual capabilities and to the demands of different lines of work. Thus, it is argued that society needs an hierarchical system of advanced training to insure multiple levels of access for individuals of different ability and to facilitate efficient and effective education through some degree of specialization in rough accord with ability level. The need for an hierarchical system is commonly related to the need for an open, yet striving and competitive, society (Glazer, 1970).

But it is beyond the scope of this paper to explain or justify meritocratic stratification in higher education. Given the desirability of

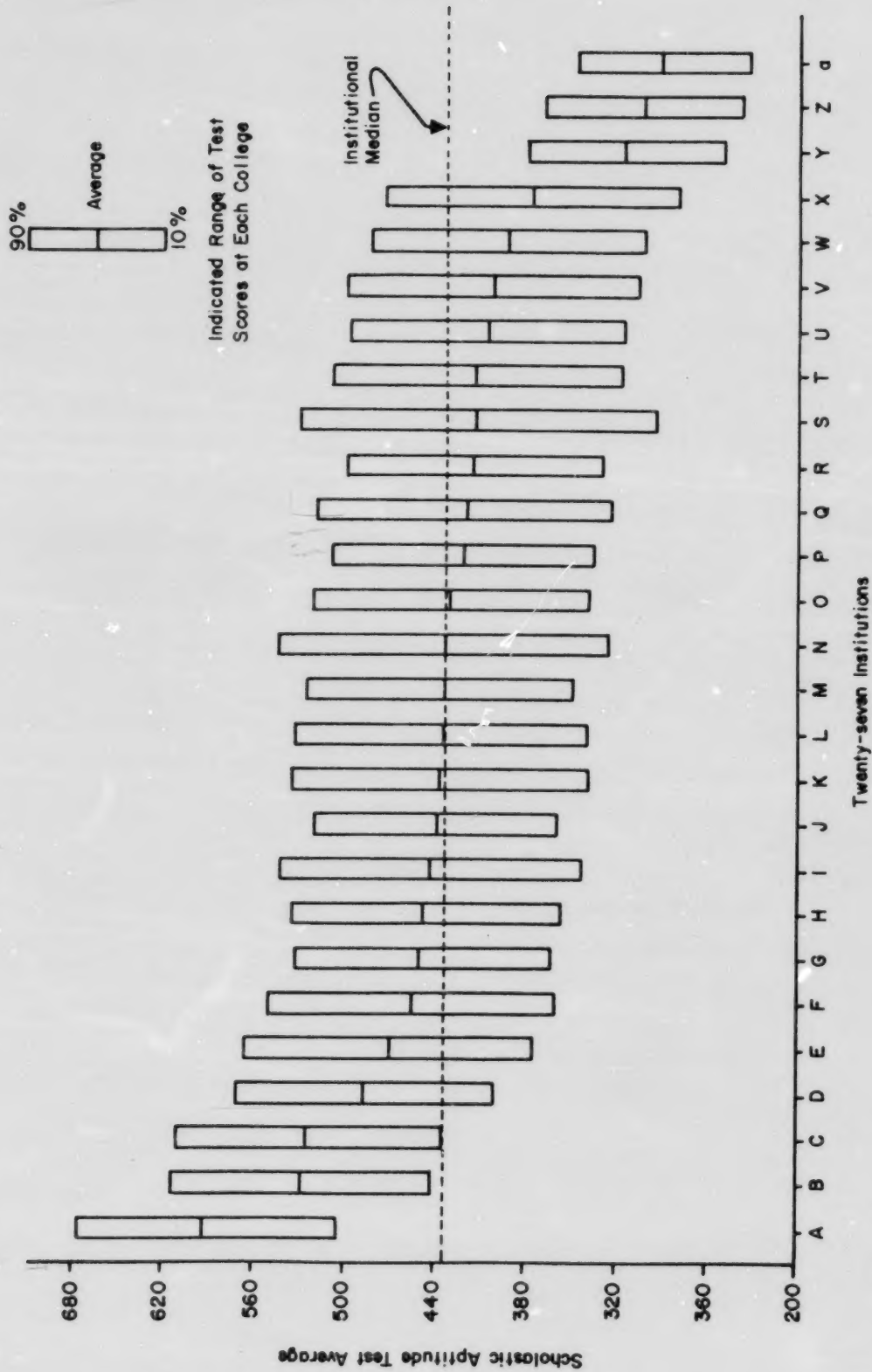


Figure 1. Range of SAT scores for incoming freshmen at each of 27 public colleges in a single state (Adapted from Pounds, et al., 1970)

differential selectivity based upon aptitude, as stated in the Furniss-Martin paper, the important question is how to maintain an hierarchical system that respects quality without building in rigidity, either in the form of exclusionary elitism or obfuscating procedures. In other words, what basic principles are important to the public interest in governing the movement of transfers among various student bodies that differ substantially in ability?

One guiding principle is to establish policies and procedures that maintain standards of competency appropriate to various programs and institutions that serve different purposes. Clear standards that are attainable by those willing to do the necessary work provide incentive and a sense of personal accomplishment. As such, standards of competency serve to enhance the effectiveness of the educational system.

It is equally important to maintain flexible access to and within the educational system. Aside from the fact two-year college students must transfer if they wish to continue their education, there are a variety of students who find it necessary or desirable to move from one institution to another — a developing young person with a changing career interest, an adult some years removed from earlier college work, an involuntary transient in today's mobile society, or a persistent student seeking a second chance in what he or she hopes will be a more appropriate academic climate. In short, the academic experience must be transportable and provide a sense of options in addition to prescriptions.

It is also important to maintain a sense of equity. If transfer admissions policies and procedures are to be fair and evenhanded, they must not subject students to undue hardship just because the student finds it

necessary to change institutions. Inequities can easily arise when transfer students are required to meet the idiosyncratic standards and requirements of one institution, simply because they are slightly different from those of another. In general, multiple routes to an identical academic credential should not incorporate intrinsic disadvantages to some students in the form of more demanding requirements or artificial hurdles.

Maintaining Transfer Standards

In looking for equitable ways to maintain standards while encouraging flexible movement of students among institutions, one looks naturally to the college grade point average, the readily available currency of higher education. But it is well known that the currency is not a common currency, and that a "B" at one institution is not always equal to a "B" at another institution. This is necessarily so in an hierarchical educational system. Two institutions that have student bodies of widely differing average ability cannot easily maintain comparable grading standards. If they tried to do so, grading would be entirely too easy at the selective institution, and far too many would flunk out of the institution with less able students.

This situation is well illustrated by the data in Figure 2. The freshman average grade and the SAT average score are shown here for entering students in the same 27 institutions represented in Figure 1. Since both coordinates are comparably scaled to system-wide statistics, the figure illustrates fairly accurately the extent to which institutions vary with respect to average freshman grade and average SAT score. As can be seen, these 27 student bodies differ substantially with respect to scholastic aptitude, but there is considerably less variation in the average freshman grade assigned by the faculties. Furthermore, the figure indicates almost no relationship between the average grade assigned and the average scholastic ability across institutions, even though a substantial relationship between grades and aptitude is reported within these same institutions. In other words, individual faculties grade mostly within the normative

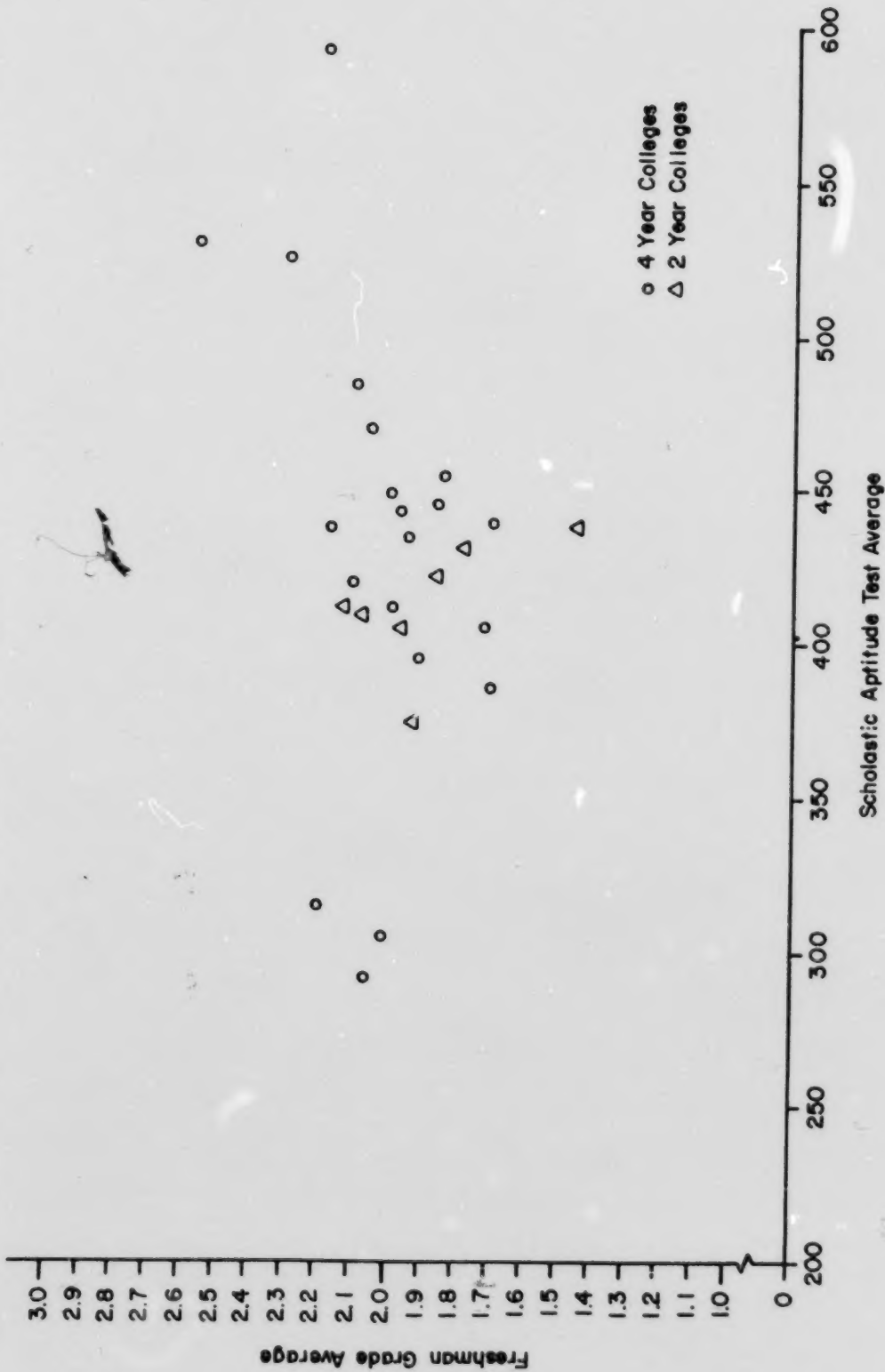


Figure 2. Average SAT scores and average freshman grades at each of 27 public colleges in a single state (Adapted from Pounds, et al., 1970)

framework of their own institution regardless of the ability level of their students.

Due to this set of circumstances one would expect that a student moving from an institution with predominantly low ability students to one with students of much higher caliber would suffer a substantial drop in his grade point average after transfer. The figure suggests that there are probably characteristic grade differentials between pairs of institutions, the direction and magnitude depending largely upon the scholastic ability of the student bodies and the grading habits of the respective faculties.

Of course, there is considerable evidence of such grading differentials and they come in several varieties. Knoell and Medsker (1965) have documented characteristic grading differentials from two-year colleges to various types of four-year institutions. For example, if one takes into account the typical increase in grades from the lower to the upper division for native students, and the typical decrement in grades over the same span for transfer students, the following net differentials (from two-year institutions) can be calculated from the Knoell-Medsker study:

Major State Universities	-.48
Teachers Colleges	-.10
Other State Universities	-.32
Private Universities	-.33
Technical Institutions	-.50

In each case, the differential indicates a lower grade on the average after transfer. Transfer students typically make somewhat higher grades

after their first term in the upper division. Some writers have referred to this gain as a recovery from "transfer shock," though it may be largely attributable to the fact that seniors make somewhat higher grades than juniors at most institutions. Along similar lines, Kuznik, et al., (1973) have documented positive differentials for reverse transfers from four-year to two-year institutions.

As one gets more specific with respect to the particular type of transfer, grade differentials become more diverse. One study, for example (Willingham, 1963), reported grade differentials ranging from .30 to -1.40 associated with the individual institutions from which students transferred. In that same study, even larger grade differentials were found for courses in different areas. For example, a group of transfers from one institution consistently made one letter grade higher in verbal courses like English and history, while students from another institution consistently made two letter grades lower in quantitative courses such as mathematics and science. Furthermore, it is widely known but seldom documented that grading standards vary considerably among different units in the same university.

These various types of differentials contribute their own ambiguity to the interpretation of a college grade average. On top of the grade differential problem is the fact that innovations in grading and nontraditional forms of education continue to undermine what stability and common currency there may be represented in a college grade transcript. Given these various problems, what are the alternate means for maintaining academic standards among institutions? How can the movement of transfer students be monitored in ways that are reasonable from the standpoint of the student, the institution, and the public at large? We can describe four general mechanisms;

their applicability differs somewhat, depending upon the type of transfer and the situation. First we shall consider the methods in the abstract, then consider their applicability in different situations.

Adjusted Grade. The simplest approach to determining whether a student has the ability to succeed after transfer is to establish what grade differential is characteristic of the prior institution. Thus, if transfer students from the given institution typically make one-half letter grade lower after transfer, then the grade average of students from that institution can be adjusted by that amount in order to put applicants from different institutions on a comparable footing for admission purposes. This procedure depends upon there being a substantial number of transfer students from the institutions in question so that a reliable grade differential can be established. It also depends upon a demonstrated relationship between prior grade and grade after transfer. In short, if there are a substantial number of students transferring from college "A" to college "B," it is a routine (if not entirely accurate) procedure to determine whether a given grade point average from the previous college gives reasonable assurance of success after transfer.

Standardized Examination. Surprisingly, there is only limited information concerning the correlation between grades prior to transfer and grades after transfer. In some cases the correlation is substantial; in other cases, pre-transfer and post-transfer grades are very poorly related (e.g., see Lunneborg and Lunneborg, 1967; Wray and Leischuck, 1971). Part of the reason that previous grades are often not a reliable indicator is the fact that transfers come from many different institutions, no one of which is represented by a

large enough group to establish reliable grade differentials. In such situations, a straightforward solution is to use a standardized examination in addition to previous grades in order to compensate for the discrepancies often inherent in college records from different institutions. Any of a variety of local or national admissions tests (either aptitude or achievement) can serve this purpose. This method is a direct corollary to the problem of admitting first-time freshmen from a variety of secondary schools with different grading standards.

Competency Standards. There is another approach which depends upon standardized tests but is very different from the one just described. Increasing emphasis upon the notion of competency-based education suggests that all students moving from the lower to the upper division might be held to an established set of competency standards that represent minimum outcomes of the first two years of college. When all rising juniors within a system (including native students in four-year institutions) are required to meet such competency standards, the test becomes not so much a transfer test, but rather a means of maintaining educational accountability for all students and faculties within the system.

This mechanism includes at least the following steps: (1) establishment of a core curriculum within a system; (2) designation of minimum competencies to result from general education in the lower division; (3) development of common examinations to measure such outcomes; (4) requiring all students to pass these examinations prior to classification as a junior. Rentz (1970) describes a program in the University System of Georgia that has proceeded partially through steps 2 and 3. At this time, all rising juniors in public institutions in Georgia must take and eventually pass minimum competency

tests in English composition and reading comprehension. The College Level Examination Program (CLEP) represents a similar means of establishing such standards in a national or local framework.

Accreditation. Movement of transfer students can also be governed through legislated agreements that do not depend upon evidence regarding the ability of individual students. In the context of articulated system planning, some states have moved to the position that acquiring the AA degree is satisfactory evidence of completion of general education requirements, and that such students are automatically admissible to the upper division of senior institutions (see Kintzer, 1973). This is basically the same mechanism that has been used historically in some states to guarantee admission to any high school graduate to the state higher institutions. The actual result — sometimes called the revolving door — is to postpone the imposition of academic standards until after students are admitted. The advantages of the system are the apparent ease with which students move from one level of education to the next. The disadvantages are subtle but endemic. Educational continuity becomes increasingly difficult to maintain for students with diverse preparation, and many students who are freely admitted are just as freely flunked out. Knoell and Medsker (1965) cited substantial transfer failure rates in some institutions as support for their argument for the use of grade differentials in counseling students toward colleges where they have a reasonable chance of success.

Varieties of Transfer

Which mechanism is most appropriate for monitoring transfer admission standards depends upon the nature of the transfer situation. There are many

ways to categorize the wide variety of transfer students, but it is useful to distinguish at least seven types of transfers. Judging from gross national statistics on transfers to all institutions (Rice and Mason, 1965; Wade, 1970) and sample statistics on more detailed transfer patterns (Willingham and Findikyan, 1969), we can estimate roughly that there are now likely to be some 600,000 transfers annually.

It is possible to make only very crude estimates of the gross number of students moving among different types of institutions. Statewide data from Illinois and North Carolina (Illinois Council on Articulation, 1971; Davis and Balfour, 1973) indicate that there is a substantial number of reverse transfers from four- to two-year institutions, and a much smaller number of transfers among two-year institutions. Other estimates suggest that somewhat more than 50% of all students transferring from four-year institutions come from two-year colleges (Sandeem and Goodale, 1972; Willingham, 1972). The best current guess is that the gross movement of transfer students among two- and four-year institutions is somewhat like that represented in Figure 3. In the following paragraphs we consider briefly the salient characteristics of these seven types of transfer and speculate on the most appropriate mechanisms for monitoring transfer admission standards in each case.

1. Articulated Vertical Transfer. Probably the largest single group of transfers is that group of students moving directly from junior college transfer programs to four-year institutions. This type of transfer is, of course, knowingly created by the development of the community college model of statewide higher education. In this case, "articulation" means

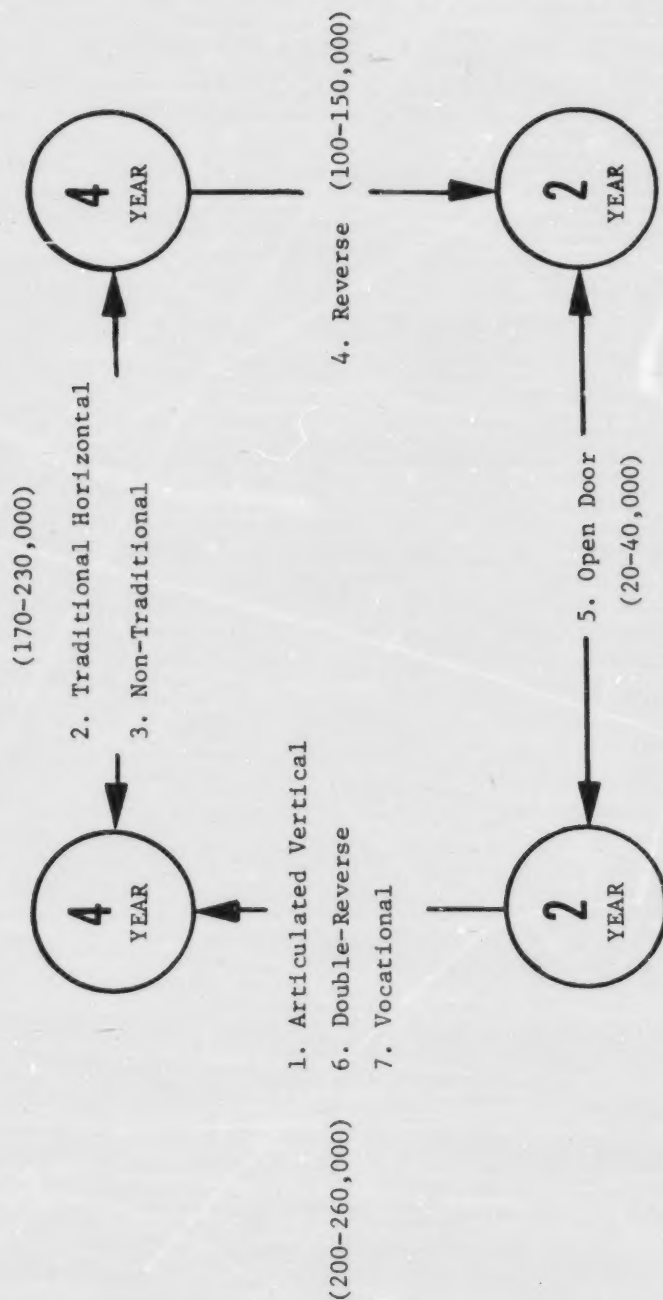


Figure 3. Seven types of transfer flow among two- and four-year institutions (including rough estimates of the number of students involved each year)

the development of parallel curricula in two- and four-year colleges and routine procedures for moving students from the lower to the upper division, even though separate campuses are involved. Knoell and Medsker's (1964a, 1964b, 1965) exhaustive study of this form of transfer resulted in articulation guidelines and detailed recommendations concerning transfer admission standards (Joint Committee, 1966). Those recommendations are still quite valid, though they have been disregarded by too many institutions.

Knoell and Medsker urged that the previous college record, adjusted for grade differentials, is the straightforward and preferred means of judging the ability of community college transfer students to succeed in the upper division. Nothing has happened in the past 10 years to change that conclusion. In actual practice the best procedure in a state system is probably to apply an overall differential for two-year students by requiring a minimum grade average for transfer that is somewhat above 2.0 if there is a consistent negative grade differential for such transfers. Routinely disseminated information concerning grade differentials among particular pairs of institutions then becomes a means of counseling students and keeping grading patterns roughly in line.

There has been some cautious experimentation with the notion of admission by blanket accreditation of the AA degree and, as previously mentioned, by the establishment of minimum standards of competency for all students moving from the lower to the upper division. There is wide agreement, however, that "admission tests" should not be imposed upon students moving from lower to upper division within an articulated system. Requiring all rising juniors to meet minimum standards of competency has more educational justification and

more equity than requiring community college students alone to demonstrate their achievement.

2. Traditional Horizontal Transfer. At one time, this form of transfer accounted for essentially all movement of undergraduate students among institutions. It still represents perhaps one fourth of the total, but there are many forms of traditional transfer. Students move from one four-year institution to another for a wide variety of reasons, including family migration, change in educational plans, or simply dissatisfaction with the originally chosen institution. Because there are typically only a few transfers from one particular four-year institution to another, it is often difficult to judge the likelihood that a given student record suggests success after transfer. Consequently, it is fairly common for colleges to use some sort of standardized examination in conjunction with the previous college average as an improved means of making transfer admissions decisions. Transfer among four-year institutions is often such an individual matter that using a test becomes the simple solution.

One pervasive problem in the traditional transfer of students among senior colleges has been the prestige hang-up that has prevented moderately selective colleges from admitting students who are having academic difficulty at more selective institutions. A standardized test can demonstrate that many such students are bright and quite capable of succeeding at a less rigorous institution. A few years ago, great numbers of such students were being rejected (Willingham and Findikyan, 1969). Perhaps the current buyer's market will encourage some adjustments that will benefit both students and institutions.

3. Nontraditional Transfer. There are an increasing number of transfers among four-year institutions that fall into a somewhat different category. These include adults who may not have attended college for some years, students with unusual records including heavy representation of odd grades or credit awards, and transfers from innovative programs that do not conform with familiar lower division course work. In such instances, the level of academic accomplishment and potential may not be apparent from available records. There may often be a need for more substantive assessment to be sure that the student has the background to handle the degree program to which he has applied and to be certain that all valid accomplishments are recognized. In admitting such students it may be impossible to avoid the related issue of crediting prior work. In the case of many nontraditional students it may thus be advisable to require a college-level examination like CLEP to serve not only as a basis for judging admissibility, but also as a general guideline to estimate where the student should pick up his undergraduate education.

4. Reverse Transfer. The only available statistics on reverse transfers from four- to two-year institutions come from two states with a large number of community colleges (North Carolina and Illinois), so it is impossible to know exactly how many such transfers there really are. It is evident, however, that a rather large number of students are following this route and very sketchy available evidence suggests that a substantial proportion may have left the senior institution in academic difficulty (Kuznik, et al., 1973). Thus, in accepting reverse transfers, the community college acts somewhat as a safety net. Due to the open door character of these institutions, reverse transfer is less a problem of admissions standards and more a problem of

educational continuity and long-term career guidance.

5. Open Door Transfer. Again, there are no national statistics, but limited state data indicate that some five percent of all transfers may represent movement among two-year institutions. Some of these transfers are likely in non-degree programs. In this instance admission standards seem much less of a problem than does continuity of training.

6. Double Reverse Transfer. There is evidently no basis for estimating how many reverse transfers ultimately apply back to a four-year institution. It seems that reverse transfer is a fairly recent phenomenon, attributable to the very rapid development of open door community colleges. If it is true that students are now discovering this flexible new means of pursuing their education, we may witness substantially larger numbers of transfer applicants to four-year institutions who have previously enrolled at both junior and senior colleges. In the absence of anything beyond local spotty data, one can only speculate, but an interesting problem of transfer standards may be developing. Previously, university students in academic difficulty have had almost no place to go for a second chance. If large numbers now cycle back to open door community colleges and then seek to gain re-admittance at four-year institutions, evaluating their grade manuscripts will pose interesting problems for college registrars. Collective experience and some special local studies may be required to determine how best to judge such student records.

7. Vocational Transfer. Only a small number of community college students in occupational programs apply for transfer to senior institutions, and a large proportion of such applications are rejected (Willingham and Findikyan, 1969). One could seek to articulate vocational programs somewhat

better with baccalaureate programs. But there is already enough difficulty in maintaining the attractiveness and integrity of post-secondary vocational programs, without compromising their objectives in an effort to make transfer to senior institutions easier. There are, however, many legitimate cases of mature students who have done well in such programs and have become interested in baccalaureate work. In most such instances it is probably inefficient and pointless to expect such students to start over as freshmen. Some students now follow so-called upside-down or capstone curricula — two years of general education in a senior institution, following career course work in a community college (see Kintzer, 1973 for examples). An alternate procedure is to follow the pattern suggested in the case of the nontraditional student and award graduates of occupational programs as much credit as they can earn on college level competency examinations.

Conclusions

In searching for policy recommendations regarding transfer standards, the best place to begin looking is the Knoell-Medsker study of a decade ago and the articulation guidelines that were developed directly from that study. Those findings and those recommendations are, in large part, as apt today as they were when they were written. And there have been complementary suggestions since that time. In this paper, for example, there is emphasis on the fact that there are different ways to approach the problem of transfer standards and that these various mechanisms may be differentially appropriate for various institutions and for different types of transfer students. We have recognized here a variety of issues, but the main problem is that transfer admissions has received so little concerted attention. A statement of the Carnegie Commission (1970) is instructive.

"Full transfer rights should be provided qualified graduates of community colleges by comprehensive state colleges and universities. There should be no artificial ceiling for students with proven academic ability and interest."

This recommendation is quite reasonable, but lacks constructive direction. Even with respect to the particular type of transfer student involved, no one could really disagree with the statement since "full transfer rights" has little meaning when qualified by "proven academic ability and interest." The question is "proven" to whom — to the community college faculty, the state coordinating committee, the senior college academic dean, the chairman of the department in which the student wishes to enroll? The quote illustrates the fact that there is a general reluctance to deal squarely with issues concerning academic standards. It also suggests that there can be no national policy regarding transfer students, even in the case of those moving within articulated systems.

These various considerations suggest that it may be very difficult for a national conference to come to grips effectively with issues that can be approached in several quite different ways, that are manifested primarily in a local or statewide context, and that likely require extensive discussions and hard-won compromises among those people who are directly affected. Under these circumstances, conference guidelines have to be elaborated and backed up by hard work in real situations.

It seems that the most effective work on transfer admissions is going on in individual states and among limited groups of institutions, but most of these local efforts are not organized in a way to serve as national models. I would suggest the need for a variety of exemplary program models. The

development of such models can prove exceedingly useful if they are funded and organized in an operational context so that transfer issues are clearly delineated, background data is systematically gathered, interested parties are thoroughly involved, adequate staff work is available, and outcomes are well documented and disseminated in ways that facilitate other institutions profiting from the work.

There are a number of transfer problems concerning standards as well as other issues that could profit from a systematic effort to model solutions and procedures in an operational context. Some of the more obvious include cooperative efforts to articulate private four-year colleges with public two-year colleges, to define minimum competencies for the lower division in a particular system, to develop guidelines for the evaluation of nontraditional transfer applicants, to define equitable procedures for handling double reverse transfers, and to model routine procedures for disseminating adequate information within a group of colleges concerning performance of transfer students. A useful outcome of this conference would be to lay the groundwork for subsequent development of some such exemplary program models.

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SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES IN THE TRANSFER PROBLEM

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Operant Attitudes

It is difficult to talk analytically about substantive issues without also dealing to some extent with matters of attitude. What appears to an observer to be a substantive bar to ready transfer and smooth articulation may in fact be a problem of attitude. It is equally possible that something which may be set down impatiently as the operation of prejudice or conventional rigidity may deserve objective consideration as a matter of legitimate concern.

If we are to deal effectively with substantive considerations, we must first be rid of the false analogy implicit in some of the terms in which the transfer problem is usually discussed. The term "transfer student," in itself neutral, acquires a considerable negative valence when distinguished from "native student." Much serious discussion is distorted by implicit suggestions that transfer students are somehow alien, immigrant, adopted, nouveau riche, converted, or Johnnies-come-lately whose claims and credentials are subordinate, inferior or suspect. An unbecoming smugness is betrayed by many catalog statements, placement procedures and curricular provisions which tend to discount the previous learning experience and the educational attainments of the transfer student. This smugness is the more difficult to eradicate because it is sometimes based on plausible evidence or upon assumptions which have not been sufficiently examined or challenged.

Sequential Learning

One of these assumptions is that all knowledge which can be appropriately taught in a formal setting is both cumulative and sequential. To the extent that this is true, a student is perhaps best served by both the opportunity and the requirement to proceed in a steady, carefully programmed way from the elementary to the more advanced and complex; from introductory and general courses and other learning experiences where he masters vocabulary, concepts, and methodology, moving sequentially into more complex and specialized applications until he reaches the frontiers of inquiry, or is making confident and competent applications of his knowledge and skills in the setting and testing of hypotheses and the definition and solution of problems.

This assumption is surely the basis in many instances for the disallowing of previously achieved credit and the imposition of special requirements upon transfer students. The department chairman, the program adviser, or the course instructor may in effect say to a transfer student: "I am not denying the quality or the validity of the previous work that you have accomplished in your educational program. However, if you are aiming for a degree at this institution, or indeed for admission to this course or this program at the level which seems to you just, there is a requisite body of knowledge and set of skills whose mastery you must demonstrate. For students who entered this institution as freshmen and are continuing, this mastery is demonstrated by successful completion of specific courses. Unless your previous learning experiences are very nearly identical to those of continuing students, you must be considered to have deficiencies which can best be removed by replicating their experience. Practically, this means completing

prescribed courses even if some of the material may be repetitive." In more enlightened institutions, there is usually a provision for demonstrating competence by special examination, or for enrolling provisionally in an advanced program, with the option of continuing if successful or of dropping back without penalty to program elements offered earlier in the standard sequence.

In theory, these principles seem unexceptionable. In practice, the possibilities for confusion, argument, and perceived injustice are enormous. For example, in a coherent body of knowledge such as mathematics, it can be reasonably argued that before one essays vector analysis, one must know something of trigonometry; before one can deal effectively with trigonometry, one must be fairly well acquainted with some of the principles of geometry and algebra, which in turn depend upon those of arithmetic. But as the designers and practitioners of the new mathematics in the schools have taught us, traditional sequences and modes of instruction may be far from the most logical and effective approaches. Jerome Bruner has argued persuasively that what have been considered very advanced concepts can be taught very early, with elementary school children readily comprehending topological concepts, among many others ordinarily reserved to upper-division college and graduate offerings.

Sequences for Social Sciences and Humanities

In other fields, particularly in the "soft" sciences and the humanities, one is harder put to demonstrate that there is a single rigorous internal logic of conventional program sequences leading to degrees within disciplinary fields. In philosophy, what is to prevent the studying of ethics, aesthetics, epistemology, history of philosophy or current problems, concurrently or in any order? Departments of English have never fully agreed

whether it is best to start with Beowulf and work forward in time to Virginia Woolf or to reverse the process; or perhaps even to start with Isengrim, the wolf of the Reynard Cycle, and work both backward and forward in time across cultures. In history and anthropology, is it preferable to move from the familiar to the unfamiliar, the immediate to the remote? Or should one rather move from concentrated study of the remote, precursive and influential to a richer comprehension of the familiar and immediate? While custom has honored the procedure of beginning with an introductory course, following that with a survey, and then launching into various advanced studies, there may be good arguments for putting the historical survey in a different sequence. It may sometimes be advantageous to conduct a concentrated study of a single artist, theory, period, movement or conceptual system, and then use that as a touchstone for constructing an historical perspective.

Prerequisites for Transfer Students

Deductive and inductive reasoning are not right and wrong, but alternative ways of marshalling data and attempting to interpret them accurately, significantly and creatively. One implication of these observations is to call into question the (usually tacit) assumptions upon which rigid requirements of narrowly defined prerequisites are imposed on transfer students. Such impositions may operate as unwarranted penalties rather than being essential to articulation, the maintenance of academic standards, and the protection of the transfer student from costly failure. Many elements of the learning experience in the first years of college relate much less to specific information than to the process of socialization, the acquisition of a vocabulary, and the refinement of learning skills. Many of these attainments are transferable not only from one discipline to another but from one institution to another; since they are rarely identical for different students

in the same institution, they need hardly be more uniform for students who begin in different institutions.

Program Discontinuities

Despite the argument that the first one, two or three years of college at a great variety of institutions have more in common and offer more practical equivalencies than is ordinarily conceded, it would be unfair to overlook some real discontinuities in programs which are really not parallel, despite superficial similarities. One classic example is that of nursing education. For understandable and admirable reasons, many registered nurses wish to continue their education to the baccalaureate degree in nursing. However, the normal three years of training in a hospital school of nursing are demonstrably not identical to the first three years in a baccalaureate nursing program. Because of significantly different goals and purposes, different combinations of theoretical study and practical experience, and diversity in institutional characteristics and expectations, it is rare that more than three semesters of credit can legitimately be assigned to academic work completed in three calendar years in an R.N. program when transfer or continuing education is essayed. But the solution is to be found neither in brusquely requiring the R.N. in effect to go back and start over, nor in legislation decreeing that a holder of the R.N. designation must be accepted with full junior or senior standing in a four-year baccalaureate nursing program.

Another case in point which has long puzzled the best-intentioned of faculty and administrators in community colleges and senior institutions is that of business administration. Any program leading to the Associate in Arts, the Associate in Science, or the Associate in Applied Science is usually designed to have its own integrity, and to lead directly to employment. The unfortunate designation "terminal" with its connotations of doom or end-stopped

stasis, is now being supplanted by such terms as "vocational," "career," or "first employment" programs. Nevertheless, though the assumption that the holder of an Associate degree should content himself with that credential forever -- or is presumptuous in seeking acceptance for more advanced study -- is fading, it does not follow that the two years leading to an Associate degree in the business field are the programmatic equivalent of the first two years of a baccalaureate program in business. Though they may have similar or identical titles, courses in the two programs may proceed at quite different levels of abstraction, and measurably different interrelationships with preceding and subsequent courses. The issue is not one of quality of students, instructors, or facilities and equipment, though all of these may vary on either direction. A Chevrolet Vega is not half of a Chevrolet Caprice, despite their respective prices, and even though some of the parts may be interchangeable. Each has its own integrity and is designed for maximizing certain desirable features and performance characteristics at the expense of others.

Discrete Program Elements and Learning Modules

Clearly what needs to be done to effect a reasonable transfer policy in programs of this type is first to determine what parts are interchangeable and then, since people are far more flexible than machines, determine and provide those additional program elements which will bring the transfer student to graduation with the knowledge and skills equivalent to, though not necessarily identical to, those of baccalaureate candidates who have been in the program from the beginning. What this seems to require, however, is the abandonment of a mind set which sees the semester course as the indivisible minimum unit in the construction of a degree program. If the only options are to overcome deficiencies by taking courses where as much as two-

thirds of the material is repetitive of learning already completed, or to be thrust into advanced courses which presume knowledge to which one has not been exposed, the transfer student inevitably suffers. The rational solution would seem to be to recognize the smaller units of which most courses are comprised, and make provision through mini-courses, independent study, program learning modules, tutoring or other means of achieving smooth articulation between dissimilar programs with some common elements. Indeed, conceiving learning experiences in terms not of academic years and monolithic courses, but rather as a succession of learning modules, while the most immediate application is to the problems of transfer students, could make for greater flexibility, economy and effectiveness for many continuing students.

Even without such restructuring of course offerings and learning experiences, ample evidence supports the conclusion that most highly motivated students, if permitted to enroll in courses for which they lack the standard prerequisites, will quickly find ways of correcting for their deficiencies and will ratify the decision to waive the prerequisite, through their success in completing the courses. Further, it is highly probable that students bringing different backgrounds of learning experiences and approaches to an upper-class course or seminar will interact with one another and with the instructor more productively than will students following a prescribed, regimented curriculum sequence.

Residency

One of the several changed conditions which have seriously undermined the claims for socialization through the residential college experience is the tendency of many students to reject dormitory living in favor of apartment housing off campus. Since it is difficult to demonstrate significant differences between educational attainments of those who live on cam-

pus from those who live off campus, the special efficacy of "residency" may be more tenuous than once confidently supposed. While there can be little question that the Gestalt and ambience of learning can be influential, continuing students in any institution range widely in their actual use of libraries, sports facilities, extra-curricular cultural offerings, and opportunities for interaction with other students. What then is the difference between a transfer student who has not had the opportunity for adjunct learning experiences of this kind, and the continuing student who has chosen not to avail himself of them?

The widely discussed study a few years ago by Philip Jacob which suggested that for most students values acquired at home were startlingly little affected by their college experiences has been in part confirmed by the recent work of Arthur Chickering in his examination of the differences between residential and commuting students. Jacob found that some few high quality, small residential colleges such as Swarthmore appeared to have significant effect upon student values. Chickering has found that while the gap between resident and commuter students widens during the period of collegiate study, the differences appear to be chargeable more to self-selection and to the influence of family values and circumstances than to differences in the learning experiences of the two kinds of students, or to influences of different institutions or different learning modes upon students of similar characteristics. The recent work of Christopher Jencks presses still further these (at least to most academic people) uncomfortable conclusions.

If indeed educational outcomes are determined so largely by the characteristics with which students enter upon the collegiate experience, many of the claims advanced for residence requirements appear immodest and even fallacious.

Student Maturity and Life Styles

For more than a decade evidence has been mounting that current students in many categories enter college with a maturity greater than that of their counterparts of earlier periods. This is one of the strong arguments for time-shortened degrees. Students who are biologically and socially as much as two years more mature than their age mates of previous generations may have little need, and little taste for a protected environment in college, and little hazard in attending an institution lacking elaborate provisions for socialization. It is likely that many institutions which lay heavy stress on a common, carefully programmed environment for all students are underestimating the maturity and intrepidity of the present generation of students. An additional factor which may have been inappropriately ignored in the perpetuation of certain attitudes about socialization in the college environment is the marked growth of most campuses during the past half century. Before World War II, a small college was one with fewer than five hundred students; a large university enrolled ten thousand students or more. Institutions with student bodies numbering from under one thousand up to two thousand were considered medium-sized. All these normative figures have been revised sharply upward to the point where institutions now think of themselves as small when they have student bodies under twenty-five hundred. The large university is considered to be one of twenty thousand and up. Efforts to recover human scale have employed such devices as cluster colleges, individual dormitories as living-learning complexes, and other means of combating the impersonality of large size.

Quality in Academic Programs

The question of quality in academic programs must be squarely faced in considering transfers from one institution to another, particularly those

moving from a two-year institution to an institution offering the baccalaureate. There has long been a tacit assumption that quality and prestige were at least correlated if not co-extensive, and that the pecking order ranged appropriately from universities with extensive graduate offerings at the top, through four-year colleges with an emphasis on arts and science, down to two-year colleges with emphasis upon vocational or career-oriented programs. In fact, of course, all three types of institution offer many courses and programs during the first two years which are strikingly similar in most of their characteristics. Few of the easy generalizations about relative quality stand up under scrutiny. For example, universities, including those of the highest prestige, have been notorious for reserving their senior and experienced professors to the instruction of upper-class major and graduate students, while entrusting the instruction of freshmen and sophomores to inadequately trained and supervised graduate assistants and junior instructors. In two-year colleges most of the staff give their best attention to lower-division students, and in the arts and science colleges there are usually few graduate students to substitute for regular staff members, and fewer pressures for faculty to be preoccupied with research to the detriment of teaching.

It is also a commonplace that in part because of the standards enforced by accrediting agencies there are very few institutions of higher education in this country, whatever the faculty salary schedule, the state of the library, or the quality of the physical facilities, in which an able, well-motivated student cannot get a first-rate education. The stimulation of fellow students, the guidance of gifted faculty, and the accessibility of appropriate learning resources can be important factors in determining the quality of an educational experience. However, they are primarily indicators and predictors and in no sense absolute determinants. The focus, therefore, should be upon evaluating the actual learning experience and achieve-

ment of individual transfer students, rather than arriving at conclusions based upon actual or presumed characteristics of the institution from which they transfer.

Many students learn from one another, and attending classes and seminars characterized by vivid interaction among able, interested, highly motivated students is more likely to contribute significantly to learning than attending otherwise similar sessions with dull, uninterested and unmotivated fellow students. But the assumption that all classes and seminars at College A are of the first category, and all those at College B of the second is unlikely to be grounded in reliable evidence.

Testing and Evaluation Techniques

What are really required are more valid and reliable techniques of testing and evaluation to provide indicators of an individual student's mastery of skills and knowledge associated with stages of progress toward a degree. The standard tests used to judge aptitude and readiness for college entrance and for admission to graduate study are generally satisfactory. Comparable instruments for admission to upper-division study, and perhaps ultimately for judging readiness for study at the sophomore and senior levels as well, could resolve many uncertainties if properly used.

Effective Counseling

Optimal articulation for programs of transfer students depends heavily upon effective counseling. This means assessing student goals and purposes, and matching them with institutional capabilities; it means accurately assessing previous learning experience and readiness for additional learning of particular kinds; it also means realistic recognition and communication of institutional regulations and practices. It is an abuse of power for

departments to manipulate curricular requirements and to use the advising procedure to protect vested interests. It is irresponsible for an adviser to be casual about rigorously enforced requirements even if their relevance may be questionable. Faculty members, like other people, tend to be draconian on abstract principle but humane to the point of sentimentality when directly faced by an individual person pleading on the eve of graduation for the merciful waiving of an unmet requirement. But this is at best a chancy proceeding. The faceless, demure, and luckless are likely to be held to requirements, whereas the brash and intrepid will find ways through or around the system. It may thus be especially important for transfer students that institutions review degree requirements frequently to assure that they optimize simplicity, flexibility, and consistency in application.

Mobility and Economics

One of the most striking characteristics of American citizenry is its increasing mobility. Not surprisingly, the mobility of the general population is represented dramatically among students enrolled in higher education. A number of sub-groups can be identified who are likely to turn up in the category of transfer student. One such group, which will assume even greater importance with the shift to all-volunteer armed forces, includes those on active duty or newly released from military service. One of the critical components of effective recruitment is certain to be opportunity for higher education. Many industries make it a practice to move personnel frequently from one section of the country to another for relatively brief periods of assignment. Young women who interrupt an academic career for marriage are only rarely able to complete their degrees without effecting one or more academic transfers. A significantly increasing sub-group is made up of the affluent and venturesome young who for many reasons desire to vary the loca-

tion of their academic study rather than being constrained either by loyalty, timorousness, or economy to remain in a single institution.

Economic factors are impinging in other ways upon the practices of transfers. With the burgeoning of community colleges in the last few decades, opportunities for students to complete the first two years of higher education with low tuitions and as commuting students have correspondingly increased. With the widening differential between costs at private and public institutions, a new pattern of dividing time between high-cost, high-prestige private institutions and public institutions with lower costs and often comparable prestige has begun to emerge.

As enrollments in colleges and universities have begun to plateau prematurely in relationship to most prejections and expectations, transfer students are more welcome, and in fact eagerly sought after, than in the days of strong enrollment pressures. Further, as cost-effectiveness becomes the order of the day, strenuous efforts are exerted by financially hard-pressed institutions both to maintain enrollment in low-cost, high-enrollment, lower-division programs, and to achieve lower unit costs by increasing enrollment in high-cost upper-division courses. Most upper-division courses could without strain accommodate additional students. This makes the transfer student, whether coming from a community college or another baccalaureate institution a particularly welcome addition, but also a loss to the institution he leaves before graduation.

With startlingly sudden plateauing of enrollments during the past two years and the dismaying empty spaces in many institutions of higher education, a new preoccupation with retention has developed. Community colleges strive to keep their students for two years rather than one, and baccalaureate institutions frequently go to some lengths to discourage transfer out while they are encouraging transfer in.

Arrangements for persuading a sending institution to award a degree to a student assembling learning experiences in a collection of courses elsewhere seem to be gaining some ground. The principal difficulty is that the course credits thus earned accrue to the student only, and not to the sending institution. If tuition and fees, or the production of a large number of full-time equivalent credits are at a premium for budgetary purposes, this generosity and flexibility may be constrained or eroded.

Accommodation Models

The most usual solution or resolution of the transfer problem is to persuade the student to change his program and to fit into one which comes close to meeting his needs and preferences. This would account for the fact that while discontent has been frequently expressed over the difficulty experienced by students holding an Associate in Applied Science degree in finding upper-division transfer opportunities, students who have not in fact been able to enroll in some upper-division program seem fairly rare. Such students appear in most cases to have yielded to the system and enrolled in a program which approximates their desired "topping curriculum."

However well persuaded the receiving institution may be that it should offer a program not now on line, additional resources are exceedingly hard to come by. Attempts to reallocate resources usually run hard into the power of vested interests. The most promising way of offering new programs may be through new combinations and permutations of those already in being, and offering alternative assignments to faculty and staff engaged in programs in which enrollment is falling off. This approach is not so visionary as it may seem; contrary to popular myth, relatively few faculty members really desire a sinecure. Most are happier when fully engaged and demonstrably

productive. Many whose fields are in temporary eclipse or possibly continuing decline could be reasonably expected to embrace an opportunity for retraining and reassignment without penalty. Such emergent fields as biomedical engineering offer opportunities for displaced engineers. Former physicists are turning up as highly successful specialists in urban studies and environmental studies. And who would be better qualified to address seriously the instruction of students with problems in language as a tool of learning than a trained linguist willing to learn some additional psychology and pedagogy?

One provocative address to the double concern of many current students to prepare for immediate employment and at the same time to acquire a general education is an experiment being conducted in concert between State University of New York at Binghamton and Broome Community College within the same metropolitan complex. These two institutions have put together a program which includes the essential components both of a two-year associate degree and of a fairly standard four-year baccalaureate degree within the same eight semester curriculum. This experiment, if successful, could offer some possible solutions to the question of converting a vocational course to an academic course, and for breaking down some of the arbitrary distinctions between vocational and non-vocational education.

Alternative Learning Modes

The idea of the credit bank in degree-granting programs outside a conventional college campus is being essayed in alternative modes within the State of New York. The State Education Department has developed and administered a set of procedures for granting credit by examination and evaluation of equivalent experiences. The State University has through the agency of Empire State College applied the principle of contract learning on a large scale through a series of learning centers throughout the State. Evaluation

of the results is not yet definitive, but a number of trends are observable. One is the predictable discovery that such arrangements work best for the highly motivated and gifted student who would do equally well in any conventional program which interested him or in which he had the opportunity to engage. It seems to work least well for the student who has learning disabilities of any kind, or who requires the props of regular, tightly structured classroom patterns for motivation and guidance. The creative, impatient, active student who rebels against conventional instruction may flower in the "college without walls." Much depends upon the empathy and ingenuity of the mentor in programming and validating the learning experiences through which a contract is fulfilled. Much depends also on the combination of rigorous standards of quality and flexibility in process espoused by the administration and faculty at large of Empire State College or any other agency or institution dealing in learning contracts.

Intra-System Transfer Models

State-wide systems of higher education should be counted upon to lead the way in solving problems of articulation between lower and upper divisions, and in achieving smooth transfer among units within the system. California has well established points of entry for students of varying academic achievement and program preference, and equally clear avenues of progression from community colleges to colleges and universities. New York State has no formal stratification of entering students like that in California, but through the comprehension of community colleges, agricultural and technical colleges, colleges of arts and science, specialized colleges and university centers within a single university system, State University of New York is able to guarantee transfer opportunities to all academically successful students, whatever their point of entry into the University system. The operant

mechanisms include a central admissions processing center and collective responsibility for transfer placement assigned to the campus presidents within each of four coordinating areas. Full credit is assigned for academic work completed in the sending institution, and normally the baccalaureate can be completed within four years.

Models for transfer developed within the several State systems of higher education are likely to be generalized to all, or virtually all, institutions within the State or the region, and this seems desirable.

Directions

In summary, the "transfer problem" can be translated into the solution to other problems through facilitating and encouraging transfers. What is chiefly required is the separation of outdated assumptions from well-defined and fully supported principles, and the abandonment of myths and practices which, however familiar, do not stand up under close examination. Among these are:

1. The student who enters an institution as a freshman and continues to graduation four years later acquires birthright citizenship in the heavenly city of academe, while the transfer student is a waif from outer darkness requiring naturalization and homogenization.
2. All knowledge and skills for which college degrees are certification must be acquired in a single cumulative, sequential program of formal study.
3. Residency has a magical efficacy, has the same effect on all students, and is a sine qua non for a valid degree.

4. Semester (or quarter or trimester) courses are irreducible units serving as building blocks within a college curriculum in establishing qualification for a degree.

5. College students are inexperienced children to be guided, protected, and molded in the image of their mentors and seniors.

Promising essays towards solution of identifiable transfer problems include:

1. Recognizing the transfer student as a resource of enrichment and a contribution to improved cost-effectiveness, rather than an alien strain and a casual nuisance.

2. Restructuring academic calendars and curricula to provide an increased range of mini-courses, discrete learning units and course segments, and alternative sequences.

3. Further domesticating technology to learning purposes by mediated instruction and testing, allowing students to complete course segments independent of classroom procedure and pace.

4. Rigorously defining the purposes of residence requirements and accepting alternative means of satisfying truly relevant requirements.

5. Increasing attention to the testing and advisory function in placement and in validating learning experience. Some faculty budget lines may be far better invested in centralized counseling and testing services than in conventional instructional posts within departments.

6. Truly accepting the national commitment to open access to higher education, and the emerging expectations for lifelong learning as both entitlement and responsibility.

Strategies and Responsibilities

One of the laws cited by cynics postulates: "In Academe change first becomes possible in desperate necessity." If the policies and procedures sketched above are to be put into effect, resolute affirmative action by faculty and administrative staff will be required. Attitudes are resistant to change, not only among students but among their mentors as well. However, legislators, boards of trustees, presidents, academic vice presidents, business officers, department chairmen, committee chairmen and program directors must now cope with serious questions of cost-effectiveness. The acceptance of transfer students to fill out enrollments or to reach critical masses required for program viability should appeal to all of them as a matter of enlightened self-interest. While it is more difficult to accept, the facilitation of transfer elsewhere of students in underenrolled programs which should be phased out or significantly altered, is preferable to a steady financial drain and erosion of quality. Most of the persuasive arguments for leavening the student body with foreign students, disadvantaged students and older students apply with equal force to transfer students.

The modification of calendars and curricula is a perennial preoccupation with faculties, but normally is confined to swings back and forth among semesters, quarters, trimesters and terms, and from rigorously determined common requirements to unstructured free electives, and back again. What is needed now is a more basic shift to modular calendars, better defined modules of learning experience, and greater flexibility both in sequences and in alternative avenues to defined goals and levels of achievement. The lead must probably be taken by administrative officers, with the cooperation and understanding of department chairmen and influential faculty opinion leaders. Requirements for defining discrete elements of the learning experience

rience, specifying course and program goals, and devising competency-based evaluations are usually threatening, or at least uninviting, to teaching faculty with years of experience and familiarity with conventional patterns of course offerings.

The applications of technology to learning require skillful instructional resources staff and appropriate facilities and equipment. Many institutions have provided the hardware and the technical staff, and many individual faculty members have worked assiduously and creatively at developing "software." However, it is still difficult to persuade others to make use on a large scale of mediated instruction they had no hand in developing. The major unsolved problem is altering the academic reward system so that instructors, departments, and faculties will find mediated instruction acceptable and advantageous. This will require persistent, patient and perceptive efforts by individual teachers, chairmen and deans, employing as appropriate pedagogic theory, released time, supporting grants, professional recognition, and the opportunity to redeploy resources conserved or extended.

Residence requirements are at present rooted more in convention and familiar practice than in carefully examined principle. As a matter of academic conscience, all faculties should reexamine all their degree requirements and catalog statements to determine anew which of them meet rigorous contemporary tests of relevance. If the needs and capacities of transfer students are held in mind in this process, it is likely that many conventional curricular and residence requirements can be abandoned, modified or waived.

Three theories of student advisement and counseling seem to be widely held. One is that every faculty member is by virtue of training and knowledge capable of, and by virtue of academic appointment responsible for, counseling, advising, and evaluating performance of students. A second is

that faculty members differ widely in interest in and capacity for such functions, and that a professional cadre of full-time academic counselors should assume the responsibilities fully, relieving teaching faculty of significant involvement in the process of advising, counseling, and even testing. A third view is that college students should be presumed to be mature adults fully capable of reading and interpreting catalog statements, competent to design their own programs within limits specified by the published institutional regulations, and appropriately responsible for their own success or failure. Transfer students probably vary across the full spectrum from confident autonomy to vulnerable dependence. Their various needs are perhaps best served, like those of any other students, by a flexible system which provides at least a minimum of centralized counseling service, whether related to the registrar's office, that of the dean of students, academic dean or major department; some opportunity for relating to teaching faculty with regard to total program and not merely isolated courses; and freedom from galling paternalism for those preferring self direction. The principal focus of advising transfer students should probably be upon accurate evaluation and validation of previous learning experience to avoid repetition, penalty, or otherwise inappropriate academic placement. For such efforts an office staffed by specialists in testing, evaluation and individual counseling would seem highly desirable and perhaps essential.

Bringing routine practice into conformity with official rhetoric is a constant struggle. However, the commitment to equal opportunity in higher education as a democratic ideal deserves day-to-day attention and support by all the offices which oversee campus academic operations; admissions and records, continuing education, university extension, women's studies programs,

black studies programs, financial aids, departmental and school offices, and the entire campus bureaucracy can either facilitate or frustrate the articulation of earlier study with current programs for the many varieties of transfer or reentry students. Central offices of university systems can exert powerful influence upon local campus attitude and practice in welcoming, or in failing to accommodate students other than "native" students.

It is not wholly unreasonable to suggest the institutions which elect to address the opportunities for assimilating transfer students by such means will improve the quality of education for all students, and gain rather than lose status. Institutions electing to maintain exclusiveness, holding aloof from participation in such ventures, may in some instances be able to retain or enhance status and provide a valuable alternative to the open university; but the risks are considerable and the rewards uncertain.

THE TRANSFER STUDENT DIMENSION OF ARTICULATION

- Section I: The Transfer - Who Is He and What Do We Know About Him?
Section II: The Exxon Project Examines the Transfer Student

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Section I

The Transfer--Who Is He and What Do We Know About Him?

For the transfer student, the process of articulation is surrounded by confusion and complication. As the Association Transfer Group who planned this Conference agreed, the problems are due partly to semantic and definitional uncertainties.¹ Who is the transfer student? Which classification are you referring to -- the immediate high school graduate, serviceman, veteran, minority, older adult? The anecdotal rather than statistical nature of his reactions is an added complication. His experience, good and bad, is completely individualized in his view, but he is often quick to make broad and general applications to entire institutions.

The student should be the center of any discussion about transfer. As Douglas Conner observed, he is the real middleman in higher education.² When the system breaks down and communication slows or fails, he is caught in the middle. He is the one who suffers, not the faculty and administration. Unless someone intercedes for him -- an ombudsman perhaps -- the student is practically powerless to effect change. A position taken by planners of this Conference

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1. W. Todd Furniss and Marie Y. Martin, "Toward Solving Transfer Problems," (unpublished paper), 1973.
 2. J. Douglas Conner. Book Review of Middleman in Higher Education. Educational Record, 54:3, pp. 249-250.

should be reiterated: colleges and universities have a social and even legal responsibility to provide a good product, to advertise it honestly, to advise the student adequately and to eliminate practices that erect and maintain unnecessary barriers to the student achieving his goals.

This paper, prepared for small-group consideration at the Conference, focuses on the transfer student. The material is presented in two sections. The first section includes a brief review of what we know about the two-year college student, followed by a discussion of the types of transfers. Examples of frequently asked student questions are presented with each type to enable Conference groups to gain an immediate perspective of problems from the student's point of view. A description of several nontraditional programs attractive to transfer students concludes the first section. The second section is devoted to results of stage two of the Exxon Education Foundation-sponsored research project: Evaluation and Application of Community College Transfer Credits and Courses by Senior Colleges and Universities^{*} focussing on reactions of pre-transfers and transfers.

While considerable research attention continues to be given to the community college student--his origins, composite personality and abilities, interests, aspirations, successes, and future needs--almost no information is available on his attitudes and values as they pertain to transfer.

Summary of Research

In 1968, Cross synthesized principal investigations: the most significant of the studies considered in her report were the efforts of Trent and

^{*}The first stage completed in 1972 and reported in book form was primarily concerned with the identification and evaluation of articulation models found in the fifty states: Frederick C. Kintzer. Middleman in Higher Education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1973.

Medsker (1964-65), Cooley and Becker's Project Talent (completed in 1966), and the SCOPE research directed by Tillery and others (School to College: Opportunities for Postsecondary Education, reported initially in 1966 and 1968). In her summary statement dealing with the intellectual dimension, Cross warned that present research instruments do not accurately measure the two-year college student who does not fit the tradition. The inevitable result, she concludes, is that

...we picture America's newest college student as being less adequate than his peers at the tasks of higher education--tasks which have been developed over the years for a different type of student. We must conclude that intellectual dimensions sharply differentiate junior college students, as a group, from senior college students. The junior college student is less able--on our present tests; he is less intellectually oriented--on our present measurement; and he is less motivated to seek higher education--in our traditional colleges.³

Empirical studies conducted in the mid-sixties by the American College Testing Program's Research and Development Division reach similar conclusions: Findings concerning the academic potential of junior college students are not surprising. The "open door" admissions policy of most junior colleges could be expected to result in a lower average level of academic ability than that of four-year colleges. In overall academic potential, junior college students in this study averaged about one-half a standard deviation below four-year college freshmen; the average junior college freshman would rank at about

3. K. Patricia Cross, The Junior College Student: A Research Description. Princeton: Educational Testing Service, 1968, p. 53.

the 30th percentile of the four-year college group.⁴

Two-year colleges tended to have fewer students of high intellectual capacity than four-year institutions however talent was defined.

Test scores and high school grades used in the ACT research also indicated overlap. Many junior college students had higher aptitude than the average senior college student; and conversely, many in senior colleges had lower aptitude than the average student in junior college. The conclusion reached was that

The two-year colleges are more diverse within
their institutions and the four-year colleges
are more diverse among their institutions.⁵

The comprehensive ACT research study also computed correlations between student body characteristics and institutionalized environments. In choosing institutions, two-year college students were also found to be more influenced by practical considerations than by intellectual or social emphasis:

Students entering a junior college are influenced more by practical considerations and less by intellectual or social emphasis in choosing their college. Similarly, they are more concerned with the instrumental value of college for a higher income and less concerned with personal intellectual development. As we would expect, they tend to aspire to less than a B.A. degree and to reject graduate training as a goal. Similarly, they tend to major in business, agriculture, or fields not included in a list more suitable for students at four-year colleges, and

4. The Two-Year College and Its Students. (Monograph Two), Iowa City: The American College Testing Program, 1969, p. 117.

5. Ibid., p. 104.

they are less interested in the humanities, science, or the social sciences. Except for intercollegiate athletics, they have less expectation of participating in extracurricular activities. The exception may result, in part, from the growing tendency of four-year colleges to request academically marginal athletes to go to a two-year college for a year or two and then transfer to the four-year school.

...two-year colleges attract pragmatic students seeking vocational training; they are less attractive to talented students who are intellectually and academically oriented, who plan a degree in one of the traditional subject areas, and who expect to take part in a wide variety of activities in college.⁶

In a recent investigation of massive proportions, Trent and associates summarized the existing body of research on the community college student:

Those students who attend community colleges manifest less measured academic aptitude and less academic motivation as exhibited by such factors as the late decision to attend college, lack of interest in being there, and uncertainty about completing their program. They come from a broader, but generally lower, socioeconomic status. They are less introspective, less self-directed toward articulated goals, and less knowledgeable about alternative goals, whether in reference to careers or education; they are, moreover, less likely to realize their goals. They show less interest in ideas and abstractions and are generally less intellectually disposed and less autonomous in their thinking and attitudes;

6. Ibid., p. 80.

they are also less prone to change on these dimensions. They show less originality, fewer signs of leadership, and less involvement with college extracurricular or community activities. They are much less likely to persist in college beyond two years and are more likely to take longer than four years to obtain their baccalaureate degree if they do transfer to a four-year college. Perhaps more important, there do not appear to be programs or policies numerous or sufficient enough to help students deal with these problems.⁷

Notice that the final sentence--not enough programs or appropriate policies--is a constant complaint of transfer students.

Since the widely recognized Knoell-Medsker investigations, comparatively little attention has been given to transfer-native student success comparisons. Recent studies are restricted to single institutions and individual disciplines. Such evidence scattered around the country supports the generalization that community college lower divisions have long since proved their worth in preparing students for transfer. I will cite a single report for discussion purposes--a g.p.a. analysis of 1971-72 Los Angeles City College transfers to seven campuses of the University of California. In discussion results, Gold refers both to high school "eligibles" (B averages in certain high school subjects) and "ineligibles" (below "B" averages):

L.A.C.C. transfers in 1971-72 to the University of California performed well, as have their predecessors for the past fifteen years. The 121 students ineligible for admission to the University as freshmen set an all-time record with a 2.83 grade point average

7. James W. Trent (Principal Investigator), The Study of Junior Colleges, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, Vol. II, December, 1972, p. 5.

at the University. Not far behind (2.80) were the 40 "eligibles." Both groups, however, also set another record in their L.A.C.C. performance, with each group averaging over a B average, making the differential in performance between the two institutions -.28 for the eligibles, and -.21 for the ineligibles.⁸

Los Angeles City College, like many other two-year colleges, is salvaging increasing numbers of low-income students who, without a community college opportunity, would have little chance to start a traditional collegiate program, much less to transfer. L.A.C.C. students selected for the federally-funded Special Services Program in 1971-72 were also low-achievers classified as University of California "ineligibles." In addition to financial aid, they were provided counseling and tutorial assistance. Although their grade point differential was less than that of "regular" transfers, two-thirds of the 69 students averaged above "C" for the year at UCLA. They seemed to be better in courses requiring verbal rather than quantitative skills.⁹

These are the "New Students of the 1970's" as defined by Cross, Knoell, and other researchers--low-achieving, low-income, and belonging mostly to minority ethnic groups.

Types of Transfers

According to statistical information recently released by the Chronicle of Higher Education, about 500,000 students are switching colleges annually.

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8. Ben K. Gold, "Academic Performance of L.A.C.C. Transfers Entering the University of California during the Academic Year 1971-72," (Research Study #73-3), Los Angeles City College, February 1973, p. 10.
 9. Ben K. Gold, "Academic Performance of L.A.C.C. Transfers to UCLA Through the Special Services Program, 1971-72," (Research Study #73-13), Los Angeles City College, October 1972, pp. 6-7.

Transfer types characterizing the 1973 scene include the "drop-down" or reverse transfer, the "stop-out" or returning transfer, and the intercollege-inter-university transfer. Diversity and mobility are dominant features of both groups. Despite the tendency of state legislatures and senior colleges to increase tuition and fees, the itinerant student population continues to rise annually. In 1968, more than one million students enrolled in out-of-state institutions and, more pertinent to this discussion, the number of ~~new~~ transfer students is approaching 10 percent of the total undergraduate population.¹⁰

The increasing diversity and mobility of the transfer population aggravate long-standing problems associated with institutional bookkeeping systems, causing even greater delays and compounding inaccuracies and inequities. Articulation systems are geared to traditional time frames and, in other ways as well, they lack the flexibility to cope with the demands of the changing transfer population.

The "Drop-down" or Reverse Transfer

The students returning to community college after unsuccessful university attempts are arriving in ever-increasing numbers. Although interest and concern seem to be high, information on the reverse transfer is difficult to find. In 1967-68, public community colleges in Illinois reported more reverse transfer students than transfers, actually receiving more than they sent. Also, more students were transferring from private four-year to public two-year colleges than to public four-year institutions. North Carolina recently experienced a similar overbalance of reverse transfers. In fall 1971, drop-downs outnumbered regular transfers. Needless to say, they

10. L. K. Kojaku, "Student Migration and Transfer of Credit." (Unpublished paper), March 1973.

pose a real threat to the equilibrium of articulation systems.

Questions

The drop-down, fresh from an unsuccessful and probably unnappy university experience, wonders:

- (1) What strings are attached to my admission to community college?
Am I on probation? special probation? How do I get off?
- (2) Can I repeat courses here that I flunked at the university, and if so, will a passing grade be acknowledged by the university?
- (3) When can I be considered for university readmission? Are admission requirements now stiffer because I didn't attend the community college first?
- (4) What happens if I take community college work on a pass-fail basis? How will a "pass" credit transfer?
- (5) I would like to go to another university. What are my chances?
- (6) How much do I lose if I change majors?
- (7) Are credits earned in university courses for which I have a "D" grade acceptable at the community college? If not, can I raise that grade by repeating courses? Will both the university and community college accept the repeated course grade?

The "Stop-out" or Returning Transfer

This person characterized by nonenrollment periods and part-time studies is already an important factor in the complicated world of transfer. Except for isolated situations, practically nothing is known about the returning transfer. Institutional statistics do not isolate the stop-out to allow gross counting of this group.

A study of far-reaching significance is currently under way in California. Sponsored by the Coordinating Council for Higher Education (with

Dorothy M. Knoell, the chief investigator), this major research effort, covering a seven-semester or ten-quarter span, focusses on the origins and persistence of a randomly selected group of the state's two-year college students. From a sample of approximately 30,000 new California community college students, rates of persistence, transfer, reentry, and graduation will be developed, and subgroups including persisters, transfers, dropouts, and stop-outs will be compared. Employment experiences of community college dropouts included in the sample will be examined to determine, for example, if former occupational-education majors are more successful in obtaining jobs than former general-education majors. Shifting career objectives of the stop-outs and the degree of their success after reentering higher education will be recorded.

Proposed outcomes related to transfer programs are particularly relevant to the study to be discussed here: uncovering problems such as transfer barriers associated with interrupting smooth student flow, and suggesting ways to overcome them.

Questions

Questions pertaining to acceptance of long-standing credits are uppermost in the minds of the returning transfer:

- (1) Can I transfer credits earned in the 1950s at the same university? or a different senior college?
- (2) The first college I attended is no longer in existence, but I do have a transcript. What will happen to all that credit?
- (3) Do the new graduation policies apply to me? I've been away for ten years.

The Intercollege-Interuniversity Transfer

Little is known about a rapidly growing group, the intercollegiate-

interuniversity transfers, who move from one senior college or university to another. Particularly bothersome in large state systems, these students -- many appearing to be professional "change artists" to registrars and admissions officers -- present tremendous bookkeeping problems. In a 1972 study of the transfer student phenomenon (the most comprehensive investigation in recent years), nearly half the total number of students transferring nationally in 1970 were intersenior college itinerants.¹¹

Primarily because of the sheer numbers of them, state systems, including the University of California and the California State Universities and Colleges, have placed severe limitations on intercampus transfers. A similar situation also exists in multi-unit community colleges. These constraining measures have frequently included relatively severe unit losses. In areas of population density, the intercampus transfer has, in fact, become an "unwanted citizen." Poor communication, a constant problem in such districts, frequently affects intercampus transfer. Credit loss during the process of intercampus transfer is not uncommon, particularly in large multi-unit districts. Where status rivalry dominates decision making, articulation arrangements are not likely to be student-centered.

Questions

The intercollege transfer faces all the difficulties of other itinerant students, but some problems are unique to him. For example:

- (1) If the various campuses in the same multiuniversity have different graduation requirements, must he complete a separate set of requirements to graduate from the second campus?
- (2) Is he caught in the trap of residency requirements?

11. A. Sandeen and G. Goodale, "Student Personnel Programs and the Transfer Student," National Association of Student Personnel Administrators Journal, No. 9, 1972.

- (3) Is it possible to take work simultaneously on more than one campus in the system?
- (4) Will all the courses taken in his major count at the other campus?
- (5) Will his financial aid-grant transfer to the new campus along with his credits?

The Vocational-Technical Education Major

Although the plight of the vocational major who wants to transfer to his state university is slowly improving, the "similar course" rule is rigidly observed in most senior colleges and universities; i.e., "unless we offer the same course or a similar one, credit will not be extended." Leading universities, where the greatest number apply for transfer admission, do not offer this type of training. Some are beginning to relinquish the negative reaction to vocational credit transfer. What may be vocational for one may well be avocational or breadth experience for another.

While scattered within states, universities in 20 states now accept such credit. Institutions in Washington, including the University and State University, are among the leaders in granting at least elective credit for work taken in vocational-technical fields.¹² A greater flexibility is, of course, evident in senior institutions that offer baccalaureate and advanced degrees in semi-professional areas, notably in North Carolina. For several years, the University of West Florida (one of several upper-level institutions in that state) has accepted complete vocational-technical curricula and from these courses it has formulated baccalaureate programs on an individual basis.

12. Frederick C. Kintzer, op.cit.

Transfer acceptance of vocational-technical or occupational courses may well be hastened through the work of the Commission on Accreditation of Service Experiences.* The 1968 edition of "A Guide to the Evaluation of Educational Experiences in the Armed Services," published by CASE, contains credit recommendations for over 8800 formal, service-school training programs. The Guide is not used by admissions officers to make their determination on granting credit for such courses as general drafting and automotive repair.¹³ This organization was established in 1945 by the American Council on Education to evaluate military educational programs and provide recommendations on granting credit for work that is essentially occupational. Its publication is a possible model for institutional agreements.

The Question

For reasons mentioned earlier, the transfer is seldom given credit -- even elective credit -- for vocational-technical courses. Any course, in fact, that emphasizes application is usually suspect by "name" universities. Questions asked by occupational majors hoping to complete a baccalaureate degree point to the central issue. Why won't my vocational-technical education credits transfer from community college?

Questions presented in previous sections as major concerns of transfer students identify problem areas which are major complications in the development of articulation agreements. On the university-senior college side are the tendencies to:

1. Formalize curricular changes arbitrarily and suddenly rather than cooperatively and with reasonable lead time (perhaps 18 months) extended to transfer institutions.

13. S.M. Burt, The Dilemma of the College Undergraduate Transfer Student: Implications for National Policy Relating to Higher Education. Washington, D.C.: Federal Interagency Committee on Education Task Force on Transfer of Credits in Higher Education, 1972.

* The name of the Commission on Accreditation of Service Experiences was formally changed to the Office on Educational Credit in January, 1974.

2. Insist on detailed community college course investigation and an exact equivalency before granting transfer credit.
3. Refuse to consider acceptance of occupational-type courses which, in fact, may have value for baccalaureate degrees, i.e., data processing, agriculture, police science, aviation, real estate, etc., and exact limitations on the amount of transfer credit to certain fields, i.e., business education, physical education and music.
4. Shift courses from lower to upper division, and in general obliterate the separation between these two divisions while holding community colleges to specific definitions of lower and upper division.
5. Allow colleges, schools, or departments within the university to set widely differing requirements for major fields and for graduation.
6. Examine community college courses but not those of other senior colleges whose students seek transfer -- thereby operating by a double standard.
7. Require a higher grade point average for transfers than for native students to enter upper-division work.
8. Ignore orientation programs for the transfer students.
9. Make the associate degree, where it is accepted per se, an absolute requirement for university admission.

Community colleges may:

1. Develop transfer courses without the cooperative consultation of senior institutions.

2. Fail to establish a system of managing articulation within the institution itself.
3. Rely on informal communication between community college professors and university professors rather than between counselors, or other designated articulation specialists.
4. Fail to offer prerequisites for a course normally regarded as intermediate or specialized, or if prerequisites are determined, fail to mention them in requests for recognition of the course.
5. Submit for university degree credit courses which contain a mixture of subcollegiate and collegiate materials.
6. Fail to provide adequate transfer guidelines to students either through the counseling staff or by printed information.

Some of these issues are due to differences in institutional philosophies. Others tend to be locked in traditional patterns of admission, registration, scheduling and grading. Some point to the need for better trained personnel. Most indicate the lack of consideration for students.

Transfer Potential in Nontraditional Programs

Although consideration of nontraditional programs is beyond the scope of this paper on "The Student Dimension," we shall cover briefly those programs in which students can earn an associate degree. An assumption associated with the development of nontraditional programs is that an individual who successfully completes a recognized type of independent study on or off campus, full or part time, should be eligible for a degree equal to that awarded by the traditional university. Thousands of nontraditional students are currently so engaged, hoping to reach this goal.

Both in current usage and in potential as a model for cooperative

efforts between and among nontraditional programs and for extending the flexibility of traditional programs, the College-Level Examination Program (CLEP) is most significant. In his 1972 report prepared for the Task Force in Transfer Credits in Higher Education, Burt gives a rather detailed account of the development of this program and other efforts in the nontraditional-external degree area.¹⁴

Many of you are well acquainted with CLEP, which offers 34 subject and five general examinations. Almost 2000 colleges and universities are currently participating, but only a few are as yet willing to confer an associate degree or allow two full years of credit for the entire test battery. The wide use of CLEP examinations by servicemen and women is achieving impressive proportions and thereby encouraging changes in transfer admission policies.

The Regents External Degree Program sponsored by the University of the State of New York is attracting an increasing number of transfer students. A total of 3500 are currently enrolled, of whom half have attended at least one college or university. Of the 613 graduates of the associate degree program 18 percent have actually attended three or more institutions. More than 50 percent of the graduates have transferred to traditional colleges and universities and an additional 10 percent are enrolled in nontraditional post-secondary educational institutions. These figures, supplied by Donald J. Noian, Associate Commissioner for Academic Programs, New York State Department of Education, suggests the versatility and flexibility of the External Degree Program. Credits earned in formal college study and from a variety of examination programs may be applied toward a regents' degree.

The Servicemen's Opportunity College concept does not itself represent

14. Ibid. Chapters 4 and 5.

a special degree program, but does require member community colleges to liberalize requirements for both admission and graduation. In the first full year of operation (1972), over 80 community colleges, junior colleges, and technical institutes changed policies to meet the educational needs of servicemen.¹⁵

To become Servicemen's Opportunity Colleges, the schools must agree to other conditions. For example, they must provide opportunities for servicemen to take courses on base with time schedules that do not conflict with their military obligations. Institutions agree to grant maximum credit for relevant USAFI courses and for successfully completed CLEP and CPEP examinations, and to adapt residency requirements to special needs of servicemen. A "contract for degree" is an available option. A reverse transfer policy is maintained in the contract enabling the individual to transfer credits earned at other institutions back to the "contract institution."¹⁶

The U.S. Navy and Air Force are both developing programs to maximize educational opportunities for service personnel. In cooperation with SOC and other educational and accreditation organizations, the Navy is presently implementing its "Navy Campus for Achievement Prototype Plan." The basic objectives are similar to those established for SOC institutional membership:

1. Facilitate transferability of academic credit.
2. Maximize academic credit for Navy courses and training (75 per cent of the total lower-division requirement may be earned through nontraditional sources).
3. Eliminate residency requirements.

15. "Vantage Point" (for servicemen and veterans) February 1973, insert sheet.

16. Robert J. Leo, James W. Hinson, Jr., Fred L. Wellman, and Lee J. Betts, The Servicemen's Opportunity College. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (Program for Veterans and Servicemen), June 1972.

4. Establish a network of education counselors.
5. Provide appropriate academic degrees using the CASE* (Commission on Accreditation of Service Experiences) guidelines of the American Council on Education.¹⁷

Directors of the plan also expect to develop a centralized recordkeeping transcript system.

The U.S. Air Force is engaged in similar activities. Its "Community College of the Air Force" is planned as the basic administrative umbrella for technical schools located on Air Force bases. The central purpose behind the CCAF is to translate the various technical programs maintained by the Air Force into acceptable credit toward formal academic degrees.¹⁸

A proposition now under study by the Servicemen's Opportunity College Advisory Committee deals directly with the transfer student; criteria have been developed for senior colleges and university membership in the SOC Program. It is possible that credits earned in two-year Servicemen's Opportunity Colleges might in the future be accepted by some senior institutions.

The next part of this paper will examine transfer procedures from the student's point of view.

* The name of the Commission on Accreditation of Service Experiences was formally changed to the Office on Educational Credit in January, 1974.

17. Chief of Naval Training, "Navy Campus for Achievement - Prototype Plan," Chief of Naval Training, Naval Air Station, Pensacola, Florida, 1973.
18. Colonel John L. Phipps, "Development of a Community College of the Air Force." Air Training Command, Randolph AFB, Texas, 1972.

Section II

The Exxon Project Examines the Transfer Student

Out of the many problems and conflicts found in even the best planned transfer policy, the investigation of the Exxon Project, as mentioned earlier, chose to concentrate on: Evaluation and Application of Community College Transfer Credits and Courses by Senior Colleges and Universities. In the second stage, special attention was given to the reactions of transfers and pre-transfers.

The Project set out to discover the impressions and attitudes of transfer and pre-transfer students and to identify specific problems experienced or anticipated by them. Impressions and attitudes were sought on the quality of instruction, counseling, and orientation in community colleges and universities, and reasons for choosing community colleges. Data collected provided a glimpse of how groups of transfer and transfer-bound students view the system and their particular situations. Other information reported by the groups will be touched on, including biographic profiles, location and type of high schools, academic ranks, associate degrees, and time of decision to attend college. The total review should give an impression of the traditional transfer student of 1973 and his own views of articulation.

Two questionnaires were developed for this investigation. One was directed to upper-division or graduate students who have transferred from

community colleges (Group 1), and the other to community college students who expect to transfer to a two- or four-year college or university (Group 2). A total of 2000 forms were sent and 1435 were returned: 747 from transfers and 688 from pre-transfers; 30 universities and 24 community colleges were represented, including two universities and two community colleges in Canada.

Limitations of this type of research are readily apparent. Since institutional coordinators were asked to develop sampling procedures appropriate to their particular situations, selection techniques varied. In institutions where samplings were not randomized, student commitment to transfer was emphasized. Students with little interest in transferring were generally not included in the samples. Of the hundreds, or in some cases even thousands, who transfer at a particular time, relatively few responses were obtained in the target institutions. Limitations in selection, control, size, and scope obviously restrict the interpretation of the data. No attempt in the description will be made to contrive generalizations or make judgments about specific institutions or particular groups of students. The anecdotal nature of student responses limits the generalizability of the material, but the informal conversations and free-response comments are used to embellish impressions.

Target Groups--Background Information

About 56 percent of the transfers (Group 1) and 60 percent of those contemplating transfer (Group 2) were males; roughly 85 percent of both groups were Caucasian. A few more Blacks were in the Group 2 sample than in Group 1 (8 percent as contrasted to 4 percent) and a few more Orientals were in Group 1 (5 percent versus 2 percent) than in Group 2. Less than 1 percent of the community college sample was Chicano or Indian. These two races were not represented in the transfer group (Group 1). The ages in Group 1 ranged from

19 to 54; in Group 2, from 18 to 51. Most of the community college participants were 18 and 19, and the university transfers were 21 and 22 years of age. It should be noted that 20 percent of the community college students were 25 years years of age or older.

Over two-thirds of those having transferred listed themselves as having majored in business or commercial subjects in high school. About one-fourth had taken college preparatory courses. Only six percent had majored in vocational-technical subjects. Group 2 was similar: not quite two-thirds had taken business or commercial; one-third, college preparatory; and 4 percent, vocational-technical.

Those attending institutions in small communities or rural areas appeared to be contemplating careers in business and service occupations; i.e., teaching, social work, and nursing. The large-city or metropolitan-area students often saw themselves in the professions--medicine, law, engineering--or as corporate executives. Consistency of major field commitment was also typical of these students. Firmly established career goals characterized responses of this group. In contrast, many presently enrolled in small, rural-area schools freely admitted their intention to make career decisions as late as possible. These students, as further identified in the free response sections, appeared to be less dedicated to goals decided earlier.

Well over three-quarters of both groups claimed they ranked in the top half of high school graduating classes. In both cases, about one-fifth were evidently in the top tenth of high school graduates. The fact that a substantial number of high-ranking high school graduates choose to attend community college is again emphasized in this nationwide, though small, sampling.

Decision to Go to College

When during their careers did the students decide to attend college?

Early decision making seemed to be the rule. About 60 percent had apparently begun making plans by early high school. In many institutions a substantial number checked "while in elementary school": almost one-half of the Broward Community College (Florida) and Lincoln Land Community College (Illinois) group; and over one-third at Western Washington College, Centralia College, and Washington State University. Few of those reporting appeared to be concerned about career choice decisions. Community college students who had no definite career in mind seemed to feel that there would be plenty of time to settle that matter on reaching the upper division level. Even juniors in universities who had changed majors and career plans one or more times voiced little concern over their apparent indecision. Few of the respondents seemed to choose their career in the likelihood of finding jobs plentiful in their chosen field. It was also rare to find the transfer student voicing doubts about his ability to succeed in the field into which his college education would eventually lead him.

Reactions to Some Quality Questions

Responses to reasons for choosing to attend a two-year institution provided few surprises. "Low cost" and "closeness to home" invariably led the list as most important reasons. Most frequently in third position was "type of program (course) offered," followed by "work opportunities" and "inadequate preparation." Least important reasons could also be easily anticipated: "athletic opportunities," "extracurricular activities," and "social life." "Advice of parents" was middle range in importance, but choosing a two-year college on the recommendation of a counselor or teacher was a less popular reason. Both groups of students, in general, appeared to favor the two-year college for its practical benefits rather than because family or professionals advised it.

This guarded reaction to community college teacher and counselor advice

was also evident in reactions to quality questions. On the whole, student ratings of community college teachers were higher than ratings of counselors. The former ranged from "good to excellent"; the latter seldom reached higher than "fair." On teaching, the transfer group commonly complained about teaching assistants--their poor preparation and inexperience. As one transfer commented, "Three out of five of my instructors at the university were graduate assistants. Only one had anything like the level of knowledge he needed to handle the subject."

A number of statements were submitted in the free-response sections indicating that professors appeared to be primarily interested in theory and research and "could not care less about me." One transfer who must have been particularly disillusioned stated:

I have learned to detest the school (university).
Teachers here, with their fancy degrees, aren't
teachers at all. They think more of research than
anything else.

Incompetent counseling at both the community college and the university was a common complaint. Much of the difficulty encountered before and after transfer was laid to inadequate counseling. Many stated flatly that counselors simply did not know the answers and gave wrong advice. Similar charges were made against faculty adviser and professional counselor alike:

My community college counselor advised me to see the
"Dean of Transfer Students." He doesn't exist. I
thought my community college adviser was absolutely
hopeless. I wasted 14 hours of courses in C.C. be-
cause of misadvisement.
I took six years instead of four years to complete my
B.A. because of poor counseling.

While some of the complaints were probably based more on impressions than real evidence, the consistency of the negative comments suggests that transfer advisement leaves much to be desired.

Students themselves must share in the blame for this general lack of consistent and accurate counseling. As a counselor might put it, "If they don't come to see us, we certainly won't be of help." Conversations recently held supplementary to the inquiries suggest that castigating advisers and counselors might be "the thing to do" or that the complaints are multiplied and magnified from single situations. The complaints mentioned consistently have indeed been heard before, e.g., "Material in university courses was repetitive"; "The regular university students registered first and we got what was left"; "I wanted one campus and was assigned to another." Whatever the reason in particular institutions, the fact remains that communication is, in general, less than satisfactory between adviser-counselors and students. Colleges should take stock.

Evidence suggested that some community colleges overcounsel transfers. In the words of one student respondent:

I was too spoonfed at C.C., so it took me some time
to settle even scheduling problems at the University.

After having been led too carefully, this fellow was able to stand on his own at the university, where counseling assistance is apt to be minimal.

Relying on friends rather than on advisers was a popular response of both pre-transfers and transfers: "Get close to a guy who knows the ropes." A new university transfer, who evidently has it made, was relieved that he had no problems, but he thought that was solely because he had a lot of friends in the "big time."

Why not take advantage of peer loyalty? Buddy tutoring and other types

of student advising techniques are now rather widely used. Several of these are identified by O'Banion, including a unique system of academic advising featuring video-taping developed at Grossmont College, California, and small-group orientation sessions at Flint Community Junior College, Michigan.¹⁹ Decentralization of community college counseling centers has long been advocated by Matson, Collins, and others. Collins suggests putting counselors where the action is, perhaps in individual centers where they can team up with faculty colleagues.²⁰

Most universities participating in the survey have orientation programs, but they include both freshmen and transfers. Only about a third were reported by the students to have special orientation for transfers. A high degree of participation was claimed by respondents at the University of Massachusetts, Michigan State University, the University of Kentucky, Northern Illinois University, and SUNY Rutgers. University orientation programs were rated in the middle range of effectiveness. Few evaluations were placed at the extremes of the scale.

Community college transfers are expected to compete on an equal basis with third-year university students. Many feel handicapped primarily through lack of knowledge of university procedures. Realistic orientation programs must fill this gap.

University transfers were asked several additional quality questions: (1) How would you rate the quality of students at the community college as compared to those at the university? (2) How hard do you find it to earn good grades at the university compared with the college from which you transferred? and (3) In general, how do you feel about the university now? Is it a good school for you to be attending?

19. Terry O'Banion, "Exceptional Practices in Community Junior College." In O'Banion and Thurston, Student Development Programs in the Community Junior College. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972, pp. 184-192.

20. Charles C. Collins. "Student Characteristics and Their Implication for Student Personnel Work." In O'Banion, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

Students Compare Each Other. Reactions of transfers were mixed. Few rated their former community college colleagues as "excellent" or "very poor." Most checked the middle quality rankings--"fair" to "good"--to compare two- and four-year college students.

Comparative Difficulty in Earning Grades. Here again the reactions were mixed. Grade getting at universities was considered about as difficult (or perhaps a little more so) as in community colleges. Many commented on the amount of material covered in university courses. As one transfer in a large midwestern institution put it, "The main difference between community college and university classrooms is more quantity at the university." He was, of course, comparing lower- and upper-division work. Some referred to a change in the type of work expected and examinations given at the university: more term papers, considerably more reading, and in some cases a change from predominantly objective to essay tests. One community college graduate recommended during an interview that a special course on how to write essays be required of all pre-transfers. He also advised practice in writing term papers or at least familiarity with library reference techniques.

How Transfers Feel About the University. Most of the transfers reacted favorably to the question, about two-thirds reporting that the university was a "very good" or at least a "fairly good" institution for them. Many gripes were written in the comment sections of the form. In addition to negative reactions to size ("I was thrown by the immensity of the campus") and to impersonality ("I couldn't get used to every professor cataloging me as a number"), transfers complained, some bitterly, about "the stigma against transfers." Although these allegations were seldom expressed in specific terms, the feelings were obviously real. Referring apparently to the lack of attention paid transfers, one university transfer said that he felt "crippled into believing I would fail." Another said, "As a transfer

I got caught in the middle. It was hard to find other transfers. We are just not like the regulars."

In one university, transfers were not allowed in honors programs. In another, applicants from community colleges had to have a better g.p.a. than the native students. These discriminatory practices and others identified in an earlier section are still condoned in some universities in different parts of the nation.

Transfers and Pre-transfers Rate Their Problems

Both groups -- those having transferred and those anticipating transfer -- were asked to rate the severity of each of 25 commonly identified problems areas. The most serious, it was thought, would be related to credit and course denial and other aspects of program articulation. Among community college students anticipating transfer, six of the eight most frequently mentioned future fears had direct bearing on the transfer policy and procedural matters. The transfers, however, tended to show greater concern for items clearly related to personal relationships and conditions, as shown by the following quotes:

1. Expenses at the university are greater, presenting a serious problem for me.
2. I can't locate my university adviser when I need help.
3. I find it harder to make good grades; my university professors expect more work than their community college counterparts.
4. Opportunities for employment are limited.
5. I have difficulty in scheduling required courses.
6. I have trouble using the library.
7. My study habits seem to be inadequate (note taking, reading speed, writing term papers, taking essay examinations).
8. The size of the university bothers me.

Financing university education was the overriding concern of most of the transfers, fully two-thirds rating it as the number one problem. They also complained, some bitterly, about advising-counseling both in the community college and in the senior institution. In far too many cases, they reported that questions pertaining to transfer went unanswered in the community college and remained unanswered at the university. Some of the older students reported having confronted individuals whom they considered responsible for difficulties and, in their words, having demanded redress. Opening communication channels between adviser-counselors and students is certainly one of the continuing great challenges in higher education.

Transfer students are not alone in these complaints. Rising costs, the indifference of counselors and faculty, diminishing employment opportunities affect the entire student body. Institutions taking steps to ameliorate these situations would be helping native students as well as transfers.

Pressure and competition for good grades were often referred to in the free-response section. The impersonality of the university was frequently associated with this feeling of pressure. As a transfer enrolled in a northwestern university commented, "I'm lost in a rat race for good grades." One transfer in a midwestern university referred to himself as a "machine, not a person"; another described himself as "just one of thousands."

Virtually all respondents commenting on the social aspect of life on the university campus reported that it was considerably more difficult to form relationships with a close circle of friends than it was in community college. Professors were invariably harder to find and less inclined to spend time with students than their community college counterparts had been.

One encouraging sign was the rate of goal persistence. Fully 40 percent of the university transfer sampling pursued the same major from high school through admission to upper-division standing. Most persistent

dedication to career goals was apparent in the group transferring from community colleges in metropolitan areas. Compared to those moving from rural institutions, these students almost always continued in major fields decided on in high school. In contrast, many of the university group who transferred from rural community colleges had apparently no confirmed career goals. Some indicated that they preferred to wait as long as possible before declaring a major field.

The greatest concerns of community college students planning to transfer were the adviser-counseling system, comparative grading standards, prerequisites, and loss of credits. While reactions were undoubtedly based more on rumor and hearsay than on fact, here are some of their fears:

1. I understand that I won't be able to find my faculty adviser when I need help.
2. I will notice a difference in grading standards in the university; university professors will generally expect more work than their community college counterparts.
3. I fear that I won't complete prerequisites or requirements for the B.A. degree.
4. I will lose credits earned in my community college when attempting to transfer, especially vocational credits.
5. I hear that "D" grades and even other grades will not be accepted.
6. My community college doesn't offer all the lower-division courses I need.
7. I may have difficulty making friends and socializing.
8. The size of the university will bother me.

Similarity of reactions to quality questions, including reasons for attending a two-year college, and problems experienced or anticipated was a

striking characteristic of the study. Correlations of similarity in the 55 separate categories of both questionnaires ranged from .710 to .990.* Responses of transfers and pre-transfers in northwestern and western colleges and in universities and institutions in the East and South were most alike.

*Total similarity is represented by a correlation of 1.0, half relationship by approximately .70.

Summary

Like other students, the transfer has a strong wish to belong. He wants to catch on without delay and to participate fully in campus life. Often alone, he faces a set of bewildering choices in his search for the best combination of many possibilities, both academic and personal, in the new environment.

Several factors unique to the transfer student are deterrents to his progress in the new society.

1. More than likely, he has attended a much smaller institution where the pace was slower and competition less severe, and has been conditioned to fear the bigness and impersonality (particularly the latter) of the university and to dislike intensely the thought of giving up his name for a number.
2. With few exceptions, his community college and the senior institution provide little preparation. Catalogs are no help. Usually, he picks up information and misinformation from other students, and is otherwise left to make his own adjustments.
3. Regardless of any official help provided, he is still joining the student body in midstream where competition in his major field heightens in upper-division work.
4. His confidence diminishes in proportion to constraining factors in the bookkeeping of transfer, i.e., loss of credits, lack of required courses for upper-division standing or prerequisites to continue his major field, incorrect course sequences, and additional graduation requirements normally taken in lower division.

Frequently, the transfer student arrives at the university with feelings of second-class citizenship. This suspicion tends to be confirmed as he gets

different opinions and wrong answers from counter clerks, secretaries, and even deans and registrars. He becomes more frustrated and distrustful with each episode. If these doubts become well grounded, the transfer student is apt to extend his suspicion and mistrust to adviser-counselors and to his professors. He may even decide to terminate his educational efforts, as one student wrote, "before the system has completely degraded my chances of learning."

Dissatisfaction with advising-counseling, both in the community college and university, including the lack of orientation plans was the clearest message from participants in the survey. Many referred to the lack of communication with adviser-counselors and the impression that the university system continued to concentrate on freshmen. Institutions need to give priority to these crucial areas.

Recommendations

One purpose of this Conference is to recommend alternate resolutions of problems faced by transfer students in a wide variety of colleges and universities and to arrange for testing them in specific institutions during the next calendar year. As Cross suggested:

Precious little of what we do know has even been proved and perhaps nothing will be lost by acting upon some suggested assumptions.²¹

Recommendations--short-term and long-term--are presented in that spirit.

Short-term Considerations

This Conference was designed by the Association Transfer Group to be

21. K. Patricia Cross. Beyond the Open Door, op.cit., p. xiv.

action-oriented. The planning group and the sponsoring agencies expect continuous spin-offs to result. Single institutions or groups of institutions, it is anticipated, will develop plans to ease, if not resolve, one or more of the transfer student issues.

Here are a few suggestions:

1. Reference has been made to specific attempts to tighten adviser-counselor and student communication, i.e., putting counselors nearer the scene of action, group advising where students take the leadership, buddy counseling, and official transfer student visits to community colleges. Such activity could be planned with comparative ease at almost any institution.
2. Examples of orientation programs could also be followed, i.e., Grossmont College's use of video-tape and the small-group orientation sessions at Flint Community Junior College. With comparatively little effort, similar improvements could be made at any college or university.
3. Transfer admission policies are seldom written down; even when they do appear, they are usually generalized, lacking specific detail. How much transfer credit, if any, is awarded for "work-study" and for "life experiences?" How are nonpunitive grading systems handled at the point of transfer? Such information could possibly be included in the document, "Report of Credit Given by Educational Institutions" published by the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers. This report, an annual summary of credit acceptance policies, continues to be the accepted guide in a number of states. An expanded version of the AACRAO booklet containing guidelines for transfer students

could make a major contribution. Several student guide books to the two-year college are available, but except for materials that might be distributed locally by single institutions, nothing has as yet been published to benefit transfer students. Perhaps an AACRAO committee would like to work on this project.

Darrell H. Nicholson, registrar of Chowan College, North Carolina, has pointed the way with his publication entitled A Step Ahead. In this volume he has included transfer policies of about 150 senior colleges and universities and other material intended as a reference for counselors or students. Perhaps Mr. Nicholson would be interested in expanding his initial efforts to include additional information for students contemplating transfer.

Organizations with national influence on counseling and guidance practices (the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators and the American College Personnel Association are two) might be willing to develop materials designed for transfer student use; i.e., guidelines for out-of-state or intercollege transfers or model statements for use in counselor handbooks.

4. Information concerning admission credit and course acceptance, housing, jobs, parking, etc. is invariably late in reaching the transfer student. Much can be done to speed up these vital communications.
5. The transfer student reports serious difficulties in scheduling classes. Particularly if he is out of phase by calendar, he is

invariably last in the scheduling line. If this is an issue, something should be done in short order to ease the situation.

6. Some of the nontraditional programs that expand opportunities for transfer students were considered in the first section of this paper. These efforts should be generally endorsed, and community colleges and universities represented by this audience are challenged to participate in the programs -- CLEP and CPEP examinations, USAFI courses, and the SOC program.

Long-term Considerations

1. We don't know enough about the transfer student. Investigations, including the comprehensive Trent study and the recent work of Cross, Knoell, Sundeen and Goodale, Willingham, Burt, and others have pointed the direction toward attitudinal and value-oriented studies. Transfer student reactions are vital to the progress of articulation plans. Since systematic investigations to assess transfer student reactions are needed, a series of case studies to give depth and breadth to individual student comments and simple anecdotes may be a promising methodology.
2. Articulation is necessarily a complex concept. Translation of the concept into action must serve a highly diverse and mobile clientele. Institutional, and where applicable, state articulation specialists -- full-time trained ones -- are needed. Few if any universities have programs, even portions of programs, to provide this expertise. Training programs for articulation specialists could be an important outcome of this Conference.

A sense of urgency exists. We must get on with the task of improving the lot of the transfer student.

ORGANIZING APPROACHES TO FACILITATE STUDENT
MOBILITY IN POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION

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Someone has observed that it is harder to effect significant changes in higher education than it is to move a graveyard. But at times problem issues arise and persist that clamor for attention to resolve them and cannot be denied. Thoughtful observers and experienced practitioners in higher education today show no doubt that the challenge of meeting the needs of the mobile student is such an issue. If there are any remaining who would still argue the point they can certainly be quickly put to rout by expanding the definition of the educational field of concern from the more traditional notion of higher education to the increasingly more acceptable one of postsecondary education. When one considers the current evidences of student mobility and possibilities for expansion of such mobility among the many types of postsecondary institutions -- public and private, two- and four-year, specialized and general, profit-making as well as non-profit -- the dimensions of complexity and difficulty of handling the mobility become formidable, even fearsome. Yet this is the problem to which this conference is addressed and to which a more effective answer hopefully will emerge soon.

There is no need in this paper to review at length the nature of difficulties in facilitating student mobility, or as it is more popularly termed, the transfer problem, in postsecondary education. This has been very well done in the background paper distributed to all participants at this conference and at greater length and detail in a number of major studies like that reported in Kintzer's recent volume Middleman in Higher Education.¹ From these sources comes clear indication that there is need to pay attention to the problem and that there is a growing pressure on all in postsecondary education to find ways to resolve it. The Carnegie Commission concluded that by the year 2000, community

colleges will probably be enrolling 40 to 45 percent of all undergraduates in college.² The presence of difficulties in helping students transfer from junior colleges to baccalaureate-degree institutions was identified by Koos in the '20s and examined in very penetrating fashion in the well-known national study by Knoell and Medsker some forty years later.³ Yet in 1969, Hulburt was still able to report after studying plans for statewide development and coordination of higher education that there was little or no attention being given to the problems of transfer students.⁴ The first "2+2 Conference" in New York State was held twenty-five years ago, yet today there is no statewide policy on accommodating student transfer. And here in late 1973, the American Council on Education in cooperation with the major national higher educational associations convenes a conference to consider ways to tackle the problem.

These observations are advanced not to be critical of the many and extended efforts of earlier years to find ways to cope with the problem of student mobility. Rather they are presented to emphasize the difficulty and persistence of the problem and to lead to the further observation that the pressures on all postsecondary institutions to do something about it are mounting. All indications are that student mobility from one type of postsecondary educational institution to others and from one level of such education to others (both upward and downward in the conventional view of community college, upperlevel undergraduate, and graduate and professional studies) is going to continue to increase for the foreseeable future. "Solutions to these problems must be found," says Wattenbarger in the foreword to Kintzer's book; and the cogency of his statement is indicated in one of the conclusions stated toward the end of the volume that "mounting evidence indicates that the remainder of the decade will bring greater involvement in and control of two-year/four-year college articulation by state agencies."⁵ Kintzer goes on to decry the trend he identifies

and to recommend a greater reliance on "voluntary and cooperative efforts." Whether or not this recommended course of development can effectively accomplish the task at hand, however, is one of the questions that participants in this conference need carefully to explore; it is a question, also, to which a number of the propositions that this paper presents later on "organizational approaches" must be seriously related. Whatever may be the final conclusions, there seems no doubt that powerful, specific, and global actions are needed now to rectify current and past ills in handling student mobility and to assure that future handling of the problem will be better.

Clarifying Some Premises on Which to Start

Consideration of how an organized effort can be launched to resolve the complex transfer problem can perhaps start best by a suggestion of some basic premises on which one would hope the postsecondary educational interests would be agreed. Two seemingly simplistic ones can be stated first. One of these is that the postsecondary educational interests generally recognize that a problem exists and understand its nature. This seems to be a tenable statement in light of the considerable mass of attention being given to the problem and the fact that such a conference as this one was convened. A second is that there is general willingness among the postsecondary educational interests to help in the attack on and resolution of the problem. These possible premises are described as seemingly simplistic because, while they might first appear almost self evident as they are stated, there is substantial reason to be skeptical about the validity and general acceptability of both points. One is tempted to ask of this audience, because you are so well informed on the subject and understand the situation, the old Air Force management question, "Are you an answer to the problem or part a part of it?"

As already indicated, there have been many excellent analyses of the scope and depth of the problem; one of them is the fine background paper prepared by the staff for this conference. This large body of facts and analysis invites one to follow the role of the "double" in the short story, "My Double and How He Undid Me," saying simply, "There has been so much said on the subject and on the whole so well said that I shall not occupy more time," and close this presentation. But that cannot be done, for this is part of the problem-- there has been much talk but relatively little action. A study reported by AACRAO in 1972 pointed this out dramatically and rather plaintively, "As we look," it said, after finding out which states had articulation agreements between two- and four-year colleges, "we find a wide discrepancy between the stated policy by state agencies or higher educational boards and the facts as reported by the junior institutions."⁶

Out of one's experience in field management of the problem and the general literature on the subject, however, seem to emerge consistently a number of points which can perhaps be accepted as points of departure for action. Stated topically, those believed defensible are: (1) that the interests of the student and those of the society he is to enter should be served in the attempt to attack the transfer problem; (2) that all available expertise and knowledge should be brought to bear in the effort; (3) that traditional practices and policies in postsecondary education should be tested against innovative and different ones; (4) that formal and informal, official and voluntary techniques ought to be applied; and (5) full advantage ought to be taken of the new technological developments in data gathering, exchange, storage, and retrieval. Members of this conference may wish to take issue with these or ask for an expansion of their definition and reason for their choice; they are presented in part to provoke that kind of discussion. The writer, however, views them as "givens."

Propositions for Action

With such premises for action in hand, attention now turns to some more concrete indications of the types of action which might follow. In this, the hope and intent again is to stir reaction, to urge movement toward decisions, and hopefully prompt follow-up behavior at their home locations on the part of the conferees on their return from Airlie House and, as important, by the American Council on Education and all of the supporting associations sponsoring this conference. Ten propositions for action will be suggested. They are not claimed to be original ideas, but are presented, rather, as distillations of personal observation and experience, participation in numerous meetings, conferences, and conventions on the subject, and a running examination of the study reports and other writings as these have been published. Neither, it should be noted, does the writer endorse fully the propositions in their stated form. They hold a measure of tenability and perhaps can be used effectively by a determined and coordinated effort. To serve more explicitly as guidelines for an "organization of effort" as a follow up to this conference and for related broader actions in the field, however, they need your careful and critical examination and evaluation.

In developing these propositions an attempt was made to focus on the specifics of an organizing approach to a new attack on the transfer problem. Your attention is called to the point that the first five propositions deal with the questions of who should be brought into the new effort, and the later ones propose what and how some specific actions believed to be desirable might be undertaken.

Proposition 1.--The organization of effort to resolve the problems of student mobility in postsecondary education should involve and mobilize both authorities with local and institutional responsibilities and those with a more global authority and perspective.

This recognizes two well-known facts about the way that problems in the academic realm are handled. One is that at the institutional level such problems require the positive attention and energy of faculty and other personnel who support direct instructional services to students, as well as boards of control and administrative staffs. The other is that at the state and regional levels policies and procedures for inter-institutional planning and coordination must rely for their ultimate accomplishment on the instructional staffs and the operating administrative personnel of the individual colleges and campuses. The reality of these observations and their importance to the transfer students, especially those who are not sophisticated in the ways of academe, is evidenced dramatically in Smith's statement concerning the aspirations of minority and disadvantaged students:

These aspirations, however, soon fall by the wayside unless there are special efforts made to identify potential transfer students, beginning in the high school, give them the necessary supportive services they need in the freshman year of colleges, expose them to pre-enrollment programs at four-year institutions, and acquaint them with techniques for coping with the bureaucracy of colleges and universities. (emphasis added)

The role of the department chairman in a four-year college or university in either aiding and abetting or effectively hindering transfer of students with advanced standing into the institution is documented. Indeed, individual faculty members play critical roles in determining the equivalency of prior education and training and judging its acceptability to programs and degrees offered at their institutions. Wattenbarger in 1972 developed a model for handling articulation problems on a state-wide basis which took into account the complex of interests typically found in a state higher educational program.⁸ It provides an excellent start toward an expanded and refined model. Such a new model would be both more explicit in the way that individual institutions

might organize to face up to the transfer problem and how additional agencies and interests might organize to face up to the transfer problem. In addition, it would show how such interests might be accommodated when all postsecondary education (as opposed to the traditional college and university system) is taken into account.

And beyond such an expanded model that would be applied in a particular state or region, this proposition suggests that national interests and agencies need to be reached and involved. What these specifically should encompass will be taken up in the next proposition. The point to be emphasized as a guideline to action, is that there needs to be a mobilization of effort that builds on the smallest and most directly serving unit touching on the student (the individual faculty member and the academic department) through the state-level structure for postsecondary education, to those organizations which can and should exert influence from the nationwide perspective.

Proposition 2.--Educational institutions, organizations, and agencies, as well as non-educational organizations (in addition to the usual organized professions and labor) need to be included and involved.

Mobile students represent both a population of consumers of educational and training services and a body of talent needed by the economy of the nation and general society. As a consequence, accommodation of their educational and training needs is not entirely a matter to be left to the total discretion of persons managing the schools and colleges. It needs the attention also of certain other agencies and organizations whose spheres of interest and responsibility lie outside the educational realm. A role in this respect is generally conceded for interests of the organized professions and labor (more about these

groups will be said later), but the thought behind this stated proposition is to push the concept much farther than that. It is to suggest that the organization of effort that this conference should consider must encompass all kinds of social, economic, and governmental agencies which have a constituency that can be better served by an expanded and more flexibly operated opportunity for postsecondary education.

That is the answer suggested to the question: Who is to be reached in an organized effort to tackle the transfer problem anew? All non-educational agencies with constituencies as described, as well as educational groups, organizations, and agencies should be included and utilized.

An excellent illustration of the concept behind this proposition is the Servicemen's Opportunity College. As you know, it was inspired, supported, and finally implemented, not only by educational interests like the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, the leadership of individual two-year colleges, some state-level officials responsible for community and junior colleges, and personnel in the U. S. Office of Education, but very importantly and critically by several units in the Department of Defense. The concern of the latter group was for upgrading the education of the servicemen and finding all ways possible to do this. Much of the credit for the final successful implementation of the idea goes to their vision, persistence, and support.

From such an illustration, many other possibilities can be envisioned. Local, state, and federal civil service commissions, for example, have a clear concern for matching people to jobs. They can be drawn into the discussion to examine the relationships of postsecondary education and training

to job qualifications, in general, and, more specifically, to consider interchangeability of job eligibility earned through postsecondary education and training when this occurs in a variety of places and/or ways. Other examples of interested non-educational agencies and organizations that can similarly be seen participating in organized effort on behalf of the mobile student would be the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Chamber of Commerce.

In short, one can envision a model for involvement in the effort that would include at the local level, besides a clearly defined machinery touching all postsecondary educational institutions, a means for utilizing representatives of a number of other educational interests like the local chapter of the American Association of University Professors, faculty units for collective bargaining, and the Parent Teacher Association, and also a significant representation of other non-educational interests like the local Chamber of Commerce, city and county civil service commissions, Veterans Administration and employment office, and others that will be suggested by the next three propositions. A similar pattern of inclusion of both educational and non-educational interests would be developed at the state level in all fifty states. One like that would also emerge from the Association Transfer Group to attend to the task from a nationwide perspective.

Proposition 3.--The organized professions and occupational groups and their interests should be brought into the participation.

As already indicated, the voices of organized professions and labor are generally accepted in an advisory role by educational authorities to assist in formulating academic policies particularly those bearing on how academic programs should be relevantly related to the world of work. This

proposal, however, is singled out for more attention because there are related problems faced by the mobile students in meeting the requirements of academic degrees and certificates of proficiency in certain fields and acquiring the rights to practice in particular professions or occupations. Licensure requirements in many states are predicated on the applicant's having completed a related course of study toward a degree or certificate in an "approved" school or college in the state concerned. The result is a sort of cyclical requirement which puts the mobile student in a quandary. To be able to sit for an examination requires prior completion of a program in an in-state postsecondary educational institution; the institution has a rigid and perhaps unsympathetic approach to acceptance of "non-resident" credits towards its academic awards; and so it goes. To break such a cycle, concerned educators need to convince the state agencies responsible for licensing and the professional and occupational groups with which they relate that this is only fair to the student and, in the long run, a better service to the society at large.

Proposition 4.--The effort should include the students, their families and other direct supporters, and their interests.

This proposal may seem gratuitous because it duplicates the first of the basic premises of acting stated earlier in this presentation. Actually, it needs to be stated and examined because the premise, although almost universally verbalized, is so often and grossly violated in practices concerning the transfer student. Until recently, representatives of the mobile students themselves were included only rarely in the discussions from which policies on transferability of credit or the acceptance of credit earned through non-conventional means were formulated. Even now, the presence of students on

boards or committees that actually administer such policies is relatively rare.

The proposal, therefore, is that not only students be brought more fully into the operative groups in determining and administering transfer policies, but that others who can serve effectively as spokesman for students at local, state, and national levels should be invited and permitted to play active roles. This may be the Parent Teacher Association, neighboring student or youth organizations, or a chapter of the American Association of University Women at the local level. Officials of such groups, or ones like them, operating in their statewide and regional structures should be a part of the state-level machinery. And the National Student Association and other such voices for college students ought to be a part of the national structure.

Proposition 5.--Agencies and organizations concerned about "civil rights" and "consumer interests" need to be utilized and involved.

Although the Supreme Court of the United States recently refused to consider the argument that equality of educational support of the individual was a "fundamental interest" as some proponents of the concept in California contended, the concept of educational opportunity as a right rather than a privilege of American citizens appears to be growing throughout the country.⁹ One can expect, therefore, that such organizations as the American Civil Liberties Union will be increasingly interested in examining cases where individuals seem to be treated "whimsically or capriciously" by responsible officials of an enterprise, public or private, which claims to serve the individual in pursuing his just due. Parallel observations to these can be described about the spreading interest in "consumer rights"

and the fair treatment of consumers of all kinds of services by the agencies which provide them.

This proposition suggests, then, that in such agencies as the ACLU and Ralph Nader's consumer protection organization might be found a new source of energetic strength on behalf of the mobile student. Such a proposition will be viewed by some in academe as a threat to its classical freedom and autonomy to decide and act on academic affairs. Another view can be that the age of accountability is upon all postsecondary education and cannot be denied. By inviting these possibly critical agencies to join in devising new and better ways to serve those who might be their clients in cases against postsecondary educational authorities, leadership of the new effort to resolve the transfer problem may turn potential antagonists into allies in a worthy cause.

Proposition 6.--As a first or early step, clear policies need to be developed which will guide postsecondary institutions in deciding whether to serve in a planned and coordinated fashion or on a basis of free competition among types and systems of institutions.

Assuming that the wide array of possibly influential groups that have been suggested thus far can, in fact, be persuaded to devote attention and energy to resolving the transfer student problem, there is a threshold question that first must be resolved. It is whether or not postsecondary education and its many and varied elements are to be viewed as an overall, coherent, coordinated enterprise, or alternatively, as a field of service in which the several elements are engaged in an open, competitive business.

Participants in this conference may find this proposition difficult to deal with, perhaps even distasteful, for again a suggested abandonment of faculty freedom and institutional autonomy can be seen. As indicated,

however, the proposition raises a fundamental question. And it must be faced, because its answer determines the logic of accomodating the transfer student within the postsecondary educational system as it is now generally structured in the several states, or for developing new techniques for delivering these educational services and validating results. If this latter direction becomes predominant, changes can be seen in structures that will be quite drastic. The question is so serious that it merits greater elaboration.

If the existing structures for postsecondary education in the several states, including public and private (profit and non-profit) institutions, are to solve the transfer problem themselves, the emphasis and expectation are that much more planning and coordination of their practices to accomplish the indicated purpose will be necessary. This can occur under either voluntary or official auspices, and there are proponents of each of these approaches. Indeed, there may be some of both types of emphasis in a given state, that is, voluntary arrangements as well as official ones. The point is that some mechanism for inter-institutional decision will be needed and some order will be worked out to effect the needed articulation of programs and credentialing practices.

If, in contrast, there is to be a "market model" of free competition among postsecondary institutions for students, quite a different picture can be seen. Some view it as a way to assure fullest accommodation of the mobile student; he takes his money and goes where he is best served. Before a conclusion that the mobile student will be well served is reached, however, the likely practices of the competing institutions need to be projected and evaluated. Will open competition force institutions to more

rather than less rigid practices, such as allowing only one point of entry to programs offered or insisting on completion of certain prescribed courses or years of study to earn degrees in order to get the student early and to keep him as long as possible? If so, will there need to be more external evaluating and credentialing agencies and what will this mean in terms of institutional organization and programming? Will an "open market" approach cause institutions to vie with one another for some particular types students and refuse to accept others, and if so, will the mobile students be among those sought as good prospects to insure institutional survival? (The word survival is used advisedly here, for in a free competition, survival of the organization becomes the paramount consideration; if this is not accomplished, all else is irrelevant as far as the institution is concerned. The question, of course, is will a system and practice in post-secondary education where institutional survival is the primary concern also be one which assures complete and effective service to all who need post-secondary education, including the mobile student?)

* In this connection, the rising debate about statewide planning and coordination of postsecondary education merits mention. As already indicated, Kintzer recommends a greater reliance on voluntary as opposed to official mechanisms for formulating and coordinating articulation policies and procedures. In a recent paper presented to the ACE, James Perkins made a strong case for greater use of voluntary, "public benefit" types of structures for purposes such as these.¹⁰ In contrast to his views, there is the evidence of growth in formal structures for statewide planning and coordination throughout the nation, a trend that has been given a new impetus by the "1202 Commissions" proposed, albeit not yet implemented, by the Higher

Education Amendments of 1972.¹¹

Where all of this is going to come out cannot now be determined. As you ponder how best to organize an effort of national scale that conference participants can carry home and attempt to implement for the mobile student, however, the stated proposition and its serious implications must be examined carefully.

Proposition 7.--A national network of "units of responsibility" needs to be created.

An admonition often given to managers is that everybody's business is nobody's business or, in other words, if there is a task to be done it should be clarified and someone should be made directly responsible for getting it done. The advice seems applicable to the task of serving the mobile student. It seems to have become a challenge that everyone in postsecondary education agrees needs attention and resolution but few are making their primary functional objective. This proposition is that the condition be changed deliberately and rapidly.

To illustrate what might be done, consider the parallel of the "disadvantaged student." During the past decade or so, remarkable adaptations have occurred in all sorts of postsecondary educational institutions to accommodate more effectively students whose educational and economic backgrounds place them at a disadvantage. When the policy objectives of postsecondary education in state after state were clarified to declare that such students should be sought out, admitted, and assisted to succeed in every way possible, action did not stop with proclamations of the new policies and a hope that results would then flow naturally. There followed instead in state after state and institution after institution special and specific efforts to make sure that the declared policies were indeed implemented. Special vestibule

programs were created, outreach and development projects were launched, offices of special programs were created, added personnel were recruited, and high ranking administrative positions were created at both institutional and state levels to make sure the job was attended to and done as effectively as possible.

This experience is very good to note for two reasons: it shows the adaptability of postsecondary education when convincing pressures are put on it to meet new demands, and it reports a measure of success in effecting institutional change in a much needed direction. A comparable need exists to serve the mobile student and a comparable effort seems necessary. Consequently, this proposal is that there should be established in every postsecondary educational institution a special machinery for attending to the needs of transfer students, be they recent graduates of community or junior colleges, servicemen, veterans, spouses changing locations because of family relocations, or others. There should also be such an office, appropriately staffed, fiscally supported, and headed by an official of high rank, on the staff of every state agency responsible for postsecondary education; this would include such agencies as state boards of regents, state boards of education, state offices of planning and coordination, and state agencies responsible for community and junior colleges. The regional higher educational compacts like WICHE, SREB, and the New England Board should have similar offices. And there should be developed out of the Association Transfer Group which sparked this conference a similar center (not necessarily governmental) to continue to provide a national focus on the problem and its resolution. Participants in this conference should start now to formulate specific steps to cause this national network of responsible units to be established and to help it be effective in its work. Among its functions could be the periodic

amassing and reporting of information on the mobile student, special examining of particular problems identified, and organized assisting in efforts to acquire needed fiscal support for postsecondary institutions and agencies to serve transfer students better.

Proposition 8.--A nationwide linkage of operational data, advisory information, and student records needs to be established.

Lack of relevant and comprehensive operational data is a generally recognized impediment to better understanding and handling of the mobile student in postsecondary education. Being transient these students do pose some special problems to institutional record keepers. Even those who enroll as regular students, attending full-time in the more conventional institutions, that is, community colleges and universities as opposed to trade and technical institutes or correspondence schools, and completing recognized programs present problems because their records must be passed from one institution to another when they move. Many enroll in whatever type of institution is attended as special and part-time students and pose even more complicated difficulties to persons and agencies called upon to assist, advise, or work with them later. These include the institutions they seek to enter later, prospective employers, and others who wish to have completely compiled descriptions and evaluations of a student's postsecondary educational experience wherever it is acquired.

The difficulties, however, certainly need not continue to be overwhelming. New developments in communications technology, data gathering, and information retrieval suggest that past negative conclusions about the accession and manageability of records need no longer be accepted. The University of Illinois, for example, has developed an extensive computer network termed PLATO and through it reaches an impressive network of schools

and colleges. For many years the New York Board of Regents has been promoting the development of Regional Reference and Research Libraries because they could use the most advanced techniques of information compilation and retrieval. A comparable thrust toward connecting postsecondary educational institutions on a statewide, regional, and perhaps even national basis for purposes of record keeping, reporting, and exchange on behalf of the mobile student seems not only to be feasible but necessary.

Proposition 9.--Institutions and agencies, whether official or voluntary, having duties and concerns for the mobile student need to adapt policies and practices which exert "operational leverage" in the student's interests.

Earlier in this paper the proposition was made that both agencies with primary duties in postsecondary education and those whose concerns were not primarily in this realm but whose constituencies had a stake in postsecondary educational opportunity should be brought into the effort to resolve the transfer problem. The proposal now advanced is that all such organizations and agencies (educational and non-educational) should be encouraged to exert "operational leverage" on behalf of the mobile student. This is to say that each locus of authority, be this authority derived from the voluntary participation of the constituency involved or from an official legal or regulatory source in a locality, state, or the nation, should be persuaded to exert a visible and forceful leadership role. The "operative leverage" of the American Association of University Professors, for example, might be the launching of a major policy study group to produce for its membership a statement on student mobility and the attendant rights and responsibilities of members of the Association comparable to that published on academic freedom in 1968¹² and on faculty dismissal in 1958.¹³ The "operational leverage" of the

Veterans' Administration could be a kind of "affirmative action" policy and administrative follow up on behalf of veterans seeking advanced credit for study and training completed in service schools. A state coordinating board could call for statewide inter-institutional reporting and information exchange on admissions, retentions, and graduations of students entering as transfers. Individual institutions can require periodic examination of departmental implementation of institutional policies on transfer students. Many other possibilities can surely be envisioned by this audience. The point is that if results are to be realistically expected, two related actions are needed: (1) encouragement of voluntary actions on the part of institutions and, (2) exploration of possible uses of reasonable and justifiable requirements and related sanctions on the part of other validly concerned and involved authorities.

Proposition 10.--A deliberate and coordinated thrust should be made to acquire the needed finances to accomplish the foregoing and at least equally important to acquire for the student adequate financial assistance to support mobility essential to his postsecondary educational needs.

This proposition is almost self evident and only a short two-point elaboration is needed. The first point is that, obviously, many of the proposals advanced earlier are without prospect of constructive help to the mobile student if the proposals are not financed adequately. This may be a real stumbling block to the entire idea of a coordinated mobilization of effort from this conference. Postsecondary education today is not in a time of high public favor. To get the needed fiscal resources to carry out the proposals presented (if they are deemed worthy of further attention and action) will be a major and very difficult undertaking.

But beyond this, the second point is that, as a minimum, a stronger financial aid base for transfer students is an essential. The relative disadvantage of transfer students in comparison to regular freshmen enrollees in terms of financial aid has long been noted and reported. However, it still persists. The New York State Regents 1964 Statewide Plans for Higher Education called for special financial aid for transfer students. Yet the 1973 articulation conference recommended a "program of transfer incentive grants" and said, "Proposals for Transfer Incentive Grants. . . have been around since 1964 but each year the legislature has found, with diminishing majorities, other items more important. ACUSNY wants to lay more groundwork this year, on the hunch that 1974 is the year!"¹⁴

Conclusion

The spirit of persistence and optimism ACUSNY is expressing may well be a guide to this conference. To be sure, the problems of articulation, accommodation of the mobile and transient students, and of developing greater flexibility in postsecondary education seem ageless and endless. Yet there has been progress and an attitude of great pessimism should not prevail. Neither, however, can the effort be relaxed. There are serious pressures on all postsecondary education to serve its constituency more fully, flexibly, effectively, and efficiently. These criteria put a tremendous burden on all at this conference and colleagues throughout the nation. One would hope that in attacking the problems of the mobile student, all will make 1974 "the year."

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- ⁸ James L. Wattenbarger, "Articulation with High Schools, Colleges, and Universities," Student Development Programs in the Community Junior College. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1972.)
- ⁹ New York Times, March 22, 1973.
- ¹⁰ James A. Perkins, "Coordinating Federal, State and Institutional Decisions," Panel 8, Background Paper, American Council on Education Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., October 12, 1973.
- ¹¹ S.V. Martorana, State-Level Planning for Community Colleges: Are the 1202 Commissions a Centripetal or Centrifugal Force in Postsecondary Education? (Iowa City, Iowa: American College Testing Program, 1974.) (Address as ACT/Florida Leadership Center in MIS Conference, St. Louis, Missouri, May 10, 1973. Published as No. 4 in ACT Lecture Series.)
- ¹² American Association of University Professors, AAUP Policy Documents and Reports, (1971 ED), pp. 15-19. "1968 Recommended Regulations on Academic Freedom and Tenure," (Washington, D.C.: American Association of University Professors, 1971.)
- ¹³ ibid. "Statement on Procedure Standards in Faculty Dismissal Proceedings," pp. 5-12
- ¹⁴ ACUSNY, Articulation Conference, April 6, 1973.

THE HIGH COST OF TRANSFERRING:
THE IMPACT OF TRANSFERRING ON THE FINANCING OF POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION
FOR STUDENTS AND INSTITUTIONS

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Transfer students are a vitally important part of postsecondary education, deserving both attention and concern. In recent years one out of every four entering full-time freshmen has eventually transferred (as estimated from a 1971 follow-up survey of 1967 entering freshmen conducted by ACE).¹

The common conception is that the transfer student moves from a two-year college to a four-year college or university. Though generally valid, this is by no means the whole picture. In fact, students transfer from all types of institutions to all types of institutions. The ACE follow-up data indicate that almost as many of the 1967 entrants who ultimately transferred first entered four-year colleges as entered two-year colleges. But since 1967 the number of two-year institutions in the United States has increased sharply from about 800 to about 1,000 currently (USOE Education Directory, 1967-1973) and the total enrollment at these institutions has almost doubled: from about 1.5 million to almost 3 million (USOE Opening Fall Enrollment, 1967). At the present time almost half of all entering freshmen initially enroll in two-year colleges, up from about one-third of the freshmen five or six years ago (USOE Projections, 1972, pp. 36-38). Thus, those who take the route from two-year to four-year institutions are increasing as a percentage of all transfer students; they now constitute more than half. Nonetheless, the fact remains that all types of institutions send transfer students, and all types of institutions receive transfer students. Consequently, issues connected with transferring are of concern to students, faculty members, and administrators throughout the postsecondary system.

¹The follow-up survey was conducted as part of the American Council on Education's Cooperative Institutional Research Program and reported in Alan E. Bayer, Jeannie T. Royer, and Richard M. Webb, Four Years After College Entry, ACE Research Reports, Volume 8, Number 1 (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1973).

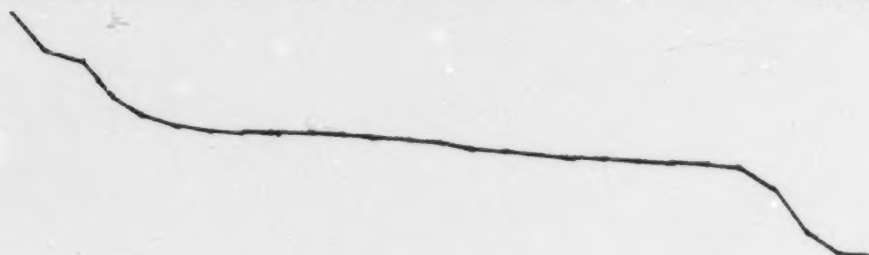
The purpose of this paper is to explore the impact of transferring on the financing of postsecondary education from the point of view of students and of institutions.

Are Transfer Students Different?

A central empirical question with respect to transfer students is whether or not they differ substantially from nontransfer students. The answer is important because if transfer students are characterized as "different," then transfer students have "problems," or are treated themselves as "problems." This is then used to justify differential treatment in admissions, financial aid, the awarding of honors, and so forth, which in turn creates still more problems for the transfer student. But if transfer students do not differ from nontransfer students, then the burden of justifying discriminatory barriers is shifted to those who seek to erect them.

The information available on the issue of the differences and similarities between transfers and nontransfers is not conclusive. On the one hand, we have assertions that the measured abilities of the students at different institutions are, on the average, vastly different. We have, for instance, the conclusion that "student bodies vary greatly in ability regardless of formal admission policy" (Willingham, 1970, p. 2). The range of Scholastic Aptitude Test scores for entering students is shown to have a wide variance within a single state, based on an analysis of the Georgia University System. The implication drawn is that transfer students are likely to be different from other students at the receiving institution.

There are two qualifications to these conclusions about variations in student ability among institutions and consequently in student ability between transfer and other students at receiving institutions. (1) In the first place, "same" or "different" are not clear-cut, objective measures. They involve value judgments which need to be specified independently. At what point along the spectrum of measured differences do we draw the line between "same" and "different" for educational purposes? In this case we can see a curve of the state median SAT's which has the following shape:



We can choose to emphasize the range of the SAT scores--which is approximately 340 points--or the central tendency in which the students at two-thirds of the institutions have median SATs within the narrow band of 15 to 20 points above and below the overall average score of 430. If we emphasize the range of the scores we support the conclusion that the transfers must frequently be different from the nontransfers. If we emphasize the central tendency, we support the conclusion that the transfers are likely to be similar to nontransfer students. To base policy analysis of transfer issues on solid empirical evidence we need to specify how much statistical variance constitutes real world differences in ability among students. (2) The second shortcoming of reasoning from a one-dimensional array of data on students groups by institutions is that we do not know how many students, of what ability level, transfer from which institutions to which other institutions. To draw firm conclusions about whether transfer students are similar to or different from nontransfer students, a two-dimensional matrix showing the patterns of transfer by ability level from sending to receiving institutions would be necessary.

On the other hand, ACE data suffer from exactly the opposite shortcoming. From these data, we know the characteristics of students who transfer and those who do not, and we know at which institutions they first enrolled. But we do not know to which institutions they transferred, and this is a necessary link to complete the chain of analysis.

Recognizing this shortcoming, let us compare the characteristics of transfers and of nontransfers.

This summary is based on data from the Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP),² which annually collects information from the entering freshman classes at a sample of the nation's colleges and universities, and at subsequent intervals follows up subsamples of the original participants. Specifically, we used data on 1967 entering freshmen followed up in the summer of 1971 (when students could have attained the baccalaureate). The transfer and the nontransfer groups were defined on the basis of responses to an item on the follow-up asking respondents to indicate whether they

²The CIRP, initiated at ACE in 1965 by Alexander W. Astin, is being continued by Dr. Astin at the University of California at Los Angeles, under ACE support.

had transferred to another college.³ After weighting the subsample up to national enrollment counts, we estimate that the 1967 entering freshman class comprised 1,300,000 students, of whom 330,000 were transfers and 970,000 were nontransfers; thus, 25 percent of this class eventually transferred.

With the limitations of the one-dimensional arrays of data in mind, we can make the following generalizations and comparisons:

Demographic characteristics. Men were slightly more likely to transfer than were women. Racially, the transfer group included a relatively high proportion of whites and a relatively low proportion of blacks. Slightly over three-fourths of both groups were 18 years old when they enrolled as first-time full-time freshmen; fewer than 5 percent in either group were 20 years or older at the time of college entry.

Economic background. Both the mothers and the fathers of transfer students were slightly more likely than were those of nontransfer students to have at least some college training. The plurality of students in both groups (about 22 percent) reported that their parents' 1966 income was between \$10,000 and \$14,999; the median income was slightly higher for the transfer group.

Grades. The modal student in both groups made a B average in high school; 31 percent of the nontransfer students, compared with 25 percent of the transfer students, had high school grade averages of B+ or better. In college, however, transfer students made slightly higher overall grade-point averages than did nontransfer students, though the two groups were distributed similarly with respect to GPAs in their major field.

Financing. One out of nine freshmen--both transfers and nontransfers--expressed at least some concern over financing a college education. On the follow-up questionnaire, somewhat more transfer students than nontransfers reported that they had received financial support for their undergraduate study from parents or spouses, from employment, and from loans. Nontransfer students were somewhat more likely to have received a scholarship, fellowship, or grant.

Major influences on enrollment decisions. There were no notable differences between transfers and nontransfers with respect to major influences on their decisions to enroll at particular colleges. Four out of five students were influenced to some extent by their parents or other relatives, about three in five by a high school teacher or counselor, and about half by friends who had attended the college. The academic reputation of the institution was an important consideration for both groups.

³The nontransfer group includes both students who completed their educational program at the school in which they first enrolled and those who had dropped out of college permanently at some point in the four years after fall 1967 but did not report having transferred to another institution prior to dropping out.

Contact with advisors and others about educational and vocational plans. Again, the two groups showed similar patterns with respect to the persons with whom they had discussed their plans. From 90 to 95 percent mentioned discussions with friends and with family members or spouses. Others frequently named were college advisors, professors, and persons already employed in the intended field.

College activities and experiences. More of the transfer students than of the nontransfers reported that, since entering college, they had changed major field or career choice, failed one or more courses, or dropped out of college temporarily. Equal proportions of the two groups, however, had gotten married, been elected to a student office or to an academic honor society, joined a social club, and participated in a student protest.

Attitudes. The two groups held essentially the same attitudes toward a variety of social and campus issues. For instance, in 1967, approximately equal proportions agreed that "the activities of married women are best confined to the home and family" (56 percent), that "the chief benefit of a college education is that it increases one's earning power" (57 percent), and that college officials have the right to ban extremists from speaking on campus (41 percent). Though attitudes on certain items changed between 1967 and 1971, the direction of change was the same for both groups: toward a generally more liberal position.

Degree attainment and aspirations. As entering freshmen, nontransfer students had slightly lower degree aspirations: 12 percent, compared with 8 percent of the transfer students, said they planned either to get no degree or to get only an associate degree. As of 1971, the proportion of nontransfers who had received the baccalaureate was substantially larger (49 percent) than the proportion of transfers (36 percent), but transfer students still held high degree aspirations. The chief difference was that the transfer students planned on obtaining their highest degree at a somewhat later date than did students who had not transferred.

As this summary indicates, the greatest single difference between transfer students and nontransfer students is that transfers take somewhat longer to complete their educational program and to embark on their long-run careers. Transferring is associated with a slowing down in the rate of educational progress through all the standard checkpoints. For instance, at the time of the follow-up survey, only one-third of the transfers had received the baccalaureate, as compared with one-half of the nontransfers.

It should be noted, however, that these data (as well as a mass of evidence from other research) fail to support the notion that undergraduate education is usually a four-year process. Of the total 1967 cohort, only 51 percent of the women and 41 percent of the men had obtained the bachelor's degree by the summer of 1971. A large proportion of persons in both the transfer and the nontransfer group experienced some delay. In light of this overall fact of collegiate life, it is impressive that one out of every five students who completed the baccalaureate in four years was a transfer student.

In spite of their relatively slow baccalaureate completion rates, transfer students were just as likely as nontransfers to aspire to an advanced degree. Adding up the percentages of those who planned to get their highest degree before 1973 and 1975, and after 1975, we find that 24 percent in both groups reported on the 1971 follow-up that they aspired to a Ph.D. or Ed.D.; 6 percent in each group aspired to a medical degree; and 9 percent in each group aspired to a law degree. The only difference was that transfer students tended to plan on obtaining the advanced degree at a somewhat later date than nontransfer students.

While by no means conclusive, this evidence does serve to shift the burden of proof to those who claim that transfer students are different--not just statistically but in ways that have educational consequences--and that these differences are attributable to the students rather than to artificial impediments in the transfer process itself.

The Impact of Transferring on Students

Since the mid-1960s, postsecondary educational institutions have faced costs which have risen faster than the growth of traditional sources of revenue. Caught in a financial bind, many colleges and universities--particularly those in the private sector--have accelerated the increases in their tuitions, placing more and more of the costs of financing higher education on the students and their families. Consequently, the tuition differential across institutions has grown sharply. In 1971, for instance, the average tuition charges at a four-year private college were ten times higher than the average tuition charges at a two-year public college (\$2,000 per year as compared with \$200 per year) (USOE Projections, 1972, p. 115). Tuition is, of course, just a part of the total educational cost confronting the students and their parents. Other costs include room, board, books, transportation, and--for our purposes in this analysis--foregone earnings while in college.

Many students may respond to steep rises in tuition by simply not enrolling in college. Others may initially enroll at a low-tuition institution and transfer later to a high-tuition institution. This strategy is intended to reduce the costs of obtaining a degree at a high-quality institution. But does it?

The following table, based on a hypothetical example of a student who spends the first two years at a public community college and then transfers to a four-year private university, shows both the expected savings and the unanticipated costs that may result from such a course of action. The magnitudes of the budget items listed, though reasonable approximations of real savings and costs, are illustrative only and should not be used to estimate aggregate savings and costs for groups of students.

SAVINGS AND COSTS OF TRANSFERRING

	Estimated Annual Rate	Estimated Total
<u>Expected savings:</u>		
Tuition	\$1,800	\$3,600
Board and room (Savings while living at home)	500	1,000
Transportation	100	200
Total		\$4,800
<u>Unanticipated costs:</u>		
Tuition for additional year		- \$2,000
Loss of financial aid (due to ineligibility)	- 400	- 800
Extra charge for part-time study (10%)		- 600
Delayed entry to labor force (offset by part-time earnings at lower salary rate)	- 7,000 + 3,000	- 4,000
Total		- \$7,400

Note: This table is based on a hypothetical example of a student who spends the first two years at a two-year public college and then transfers to a four-year private college and who is delayed in earning a bachelor's degree by one year.

Expected Savings from Transferring

In our example, the tuition differential between the public community college and the private four-year college is \$1,800 per year, or \$3,600 for the two years spent at the public institution. Since our hypothetical student lives at home while attending the two-year institution but pays for college housing while attending the four-year institution, the student may save an additional \$500 per year, or \$1,000 total, in extra costs for room and board. (Note, however, that the parents may partially absorb these costs.) Savings of another \$100 a year, or \$200 total, are allowed for transportation costs to and from the presumably more distant four-year institution. Adding it all up, we find that the student in our example may expect to save about \$4,800 out of total educational costs by adopting this particular transfer route.

Unanticipated Costs of Transferring

But what the student does not plan on are the considerable costs that may result from transferring--costs which may even outweigh the expected savings. The sources of these costs are interrelated: delay in completing the baccalaureate degree, ineligibility for financial aid, greater likelihood of completing the degree on a part-time basis, higher charges for part-time study, and additional foregone earnings from delayed full-time employment. A concatenation of these adverse, but not atypical, circumstances may impose on the transfer student a much heavier financial load than was ever anticipated.

As we have seen, transfer students are much more likely than are nontransfer students to fail to complete the baccalaureate within four years. This delay is attributable to a variety of reasons, including loss of credit due to poor articulation between the educational programs of the sending and the receiving institutions; loss of credit due to changes in major field that result from or cause the transfer in the first place; and attendance on a part-time rather than a full-time basis. If it takes our hypothetical transfer student five years instead of four to obtain the bachelor's degree, then the cost of tuition for the additional year is \$2,000.

Transfer students are somewhat more likely to be enrolled on a part-time basis than are nontransfer students. To illustrate, 8 percent of the transfers, compared with only 4 percent of the nontransfers, in the 1967 freshman cohort reported on the follow-up survey that they had attended college on a part-time basis in the January-June term of 1971. Comparing the tuition charges per credit hour for full-time and for part-time students at more than two thousand institutions of higher education, we find that over three-fifths of the public institutions and over half of the private institutions charge more

per credit hour for part-time than for full-time students.⁴ If the part-time surcharge is on the order of 10 percent, the real cost to the transfer student in our example is an additional \$600 for the three years it takes to complete the degree.

Moreover, most institutions have only limited funds for student aid and thus tend to favor those students who enrolled there as freshmen. The transfer student may have to undergo a waiting period, may be accorded low priority, or may otherwise have only limited eligibility for student aid. To return to our example: If the student does not receive \$400 per year assistance, then the total loss of aid for three years would be \$1,200.

Finally, the delay in completing the educational program means that the student will also be delayed in entering the labor force full-time. The resulting loss in full-time earnings at the rate generally paid to college graduates in entry-level jobs is in the neighborhood of \$7,500. This loss may be offset somewhat if the student works part-time while in college, but usually the student without a college degree will be paid at a lower rate. The net loss of earnings, in our example, is taken to be \$4,000.

Thus, the total losses resulting from what the student supposed to be a money-saving transfer was well over \$7,000. This loss not only wipes out the expected savings but also amounts to something like a 40 percent surcharge on total educational costs for the transfer student.

Summary

Judging from our data, transfer students do not seem to differ substantially from nontransfer students. Yet the act of transferring is associated with a higher probability of delay in completing educational objectives, and the impact of this delay is increased costs, possibly very substantially increased costs.

If the delay experienced by transfer students cannot be explained on the basis of their inherent differences from nontransfers, then the added costs they bear are not justifiable.

⁴Information derived by Cathy Henderson, Policy Analysis Service, American Council on Education, from W. Todd Furniss (ed.), American Universities and Colleges, 11th ed. (Washington: American Council on Education, 1973). Data are based on 1971 charges.

Recommendations

Given the potentially high cost to students of transferring, it is essential to remove unnecessary barriers in the transfer process, particularly those that occasion delays in completing postsecondary education. To ascertain which barriers are unnecessary, we must know whether these delays result from the student's losing credit while pursuing the same educational objectives, from the student's changing educational objectives in mid-stream, from receiving poor counseling, from lack of financial support, or from some other factor.

In addition, efforts should be made to eliminate special surcharges on the transfer student. Such efforts would include assuring transfer students equal access to adequate financial aid and eliminating discriminatory charges leveled at part-time students.

The Impact of Transferring on Institutions

In this section we will try to identify some recent developments in the financing of postsecondary education that could have a significant impact on transfer rates and transfer paths. If changes in transfer patterns do occur as a result of these developments, then both sending and receiving institutions will be affected.

Increased Tuitions

After analyzing the financial conditions of institutions of higher education, two important study groups--the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education and the Committee for Economic Development--both recommend, among other things, that tuitions at public institutions be increased.

The CED advocates raising tuitions until they reach 50 percent of instructional costs, the increase to be phased over a five-year period for four-year institutions and over a ten-year period for two-year institutions (CED, 1973, p. 25). Part of the rationale for this recommendation is that low-tuition public institutions now have an unfair advantage over private institutions in the competition for students. An increase in their tuitions would reduce the large tuition differentials between the public and the private sector.

If this recommendation were carried out and the tuition differential lessened, the student who now, for financial reasons, first enrolls at a low-tuition institution and later transfers to a high-tuition institution (like the hypothetical student of our example) would lose a motive for taking such a route. Since tuition differentials would be considerably narrowed among all institutions, fewer cost savings could be anticipated from transferring. Thus, transfer rates would be decreased. And if higher tuitions led to decreased enrollments there would be a smaller absolute number of transfers as well.

The Carnegie Commission recommends that tuitions at public institutions be increased to a level of one-third of instructional costs for the third and fourth year of postsecondary education, the increase to be phased over a ten-year period. However, to assure that all students who can benefit from the experience be given an opportunity to attend a postsecondary institution, the Carnegie Commission advocates maintaining low- or no-tuition policies for the first two years of postsecondary education (Carnegie Commission, 1973, p. 108).

In contrast to the CED recommendation, the Carnegie Commission recommendation would not reduce tuition differentials; indeed, it would increase them. Thus, it would probably lead to an increase in the rate of transferring among those students who transfer for financial reasons.

Entitlement to Student Financial Assistance

With the enactment of the Basic Educational Opportunity Grants program in the 1972 Education Amendments, a new concept of students' entitlement to financial assistance emerged. Previously, need-based Federal aid to students was channeled through institutions by means of such programs as work-study, educational opportunity grants, and loans: Such an arrangement left it up to the institution, selecting within guidelines, to choose the students who would be aided. But under the entitlement concept, the aid goes directly to the students, who can then carry grants with them from one institution to another; thus, they are able to choose among institutions which accept them. To the extent that students can carry this portable aid to which they are entitled from one institution to another, without institutional barriers to eligibility, we could expect the rate of transferring to increase.

There is, however, a large gap between what might be possible under the concept of entitlement and the reality of totally inadequate funding of the BOG program.

The promise of the 1972 legislation has simply not been fulfilled. Individual grants are far too small to cover more than a tiny fraction of educational costs, and students and institutions must make up the difference by providing a package from their own funds or from other financial assistance program funds. Consequently, student mobility has not so far been notably facilitated by the award of aid based on entitlement.

Need-Based Student Financial Assistance

The basis for awarding student financial assistance has shifted over time: originally the award was most often made on the merit of the recipient; later it was based on the parents' income; and now it is allocated on the basis of "need." A student's need is determined by educational costs minus an expected family contribution which depends not only on income but also on other considerations relating to ability to pay. As a result of this method of calculating the amount of financial assistance to be awarded, students who attend high-tuition institutions (and thus have higher educational costs) are regarded as having greater "need."

One likely consequence of this development is a reduction in transfer rates. Financially motivated students might be expected to enroll directly in a higher-tuition institution, thereby upping their level of need and their entitlement to greater financial assistance.

Independent Status of Students

In the past, students were regarded primarily as members of their parental families, and the award of financial assistance was related to the economic circumstances of the parents. Now, however, with the lowering of the voting age (and, in some states, of the age of majority), many students have declared themselves independent of their parents. These social and legal developments not only render previous means of determining financial assistance inappropriate but also enable many students to establish residency for themselves while enrolled in out-of-state institutions. Moreover, the courts are supporting these claims by overruling irrebutable presumptions of nonresidence.⁵ One consequence is that state institutions

⁵Vlandis v. Kline, et al., No. 72-493

can no longer impose nonresident fees on students who have established residency. The elimination of such surcharges might be expected to promote an increased rate of transfer across state lines. On the other hand, sharply increased out-of-state fees are being imposed on students during periods while they are establishing residency, which would reduce such transfers.

Expansion of the Concept of Postsecondary Education

Until recently, students were eligible for financial assistance only if they were enrolled at an accredited collegiate institution. Now, however, our national commitment to equality of educational opportunity has led to an appreciation that true equity requires that we give consideration to students who wish to develop vocational and other capabilities beyond the narrow range of the traditionally "academic" skills. Thus, eligibility for assistance has expanded to include young people attending a variety of postsecondary institutions. The recognition that a wider range of educational and learning activities merit support--together with an increased student demand for more individualized learning programs--is likely to increase the rate of transferring among different kinds of educational centers.

Cost-Pricing of Education

As educational institutions have come to be held more formally accountable for the effective use of public resources, the amount and quality of cost information available for the purposes of management and planning have improved significantly. It has become clear, as a result, that costs per full-time student in lower division are considerably less than costs per full-time student in upper division.

At present, institutions usually charge flat rates for all undergraduates, at least for all full-time undergraduates. Under current financing patterns, institutions can transfer funds internally rather freely; and the lower division frequently subsidizes the upper division. In this situation, institutions may be reluctant to accept transfer students into upper division, since by so doing they may displace "lower-cost" students and gain "higher-cost" students, and lose the opportunity for internal subsidies.

Consistent with increased accountability requirements, certain pressures are now emerging to relate tuition charges more directly to educational costs: either by level (as, for instance, lower division, upper division, and graduate) or by field (such as physical sciences, social sciences, and humanities). If such a change were effected, lower-division tuitions would be less than upper-division tuitions and the tuition differential between the first two years at four-year institutions and

the two years at two-year institutions would be lessened. Thus, the introduction of relative cost-pricing into higher education is likely to reduce the rate of financially motivated transferring.

Structural Developments

Two structural developments that relate only indirectly to the financing of postsecondary education may also affect patterns of transferring: institutional specialization and institutional diversity.

Of the 1967 freshman cohort discussed earlier, 31 percent reported on the 1971 follow-up survey that they had changed their major field during the undergraduate years. To the extent that a given institution chooses to specialize by field of study (and thus not to offer certain other fields), it may not be able to accommodate many of its students who change their majors. Consequently, if institutional specialization increases, we would expect increases in the transfer rate.

Finally, in some states, the collegiate structure of postsecondary education is organized hierarchically into junior colleges, senior colleges, and universities. Movement from one level to another is engineered through regular channels. In essence, transferring means graduating from junior college to senior college, just as students now graduate from high school to college. With planned and coordinated systems of postsecondary education, carefully articulated transferring might be expected to increase.

Conclusion

The net effect of all these countervailing forces currently shaping higher education will be, I believe, to increase substantially future rates of transfer. As I have attempted to show, the costs of transferring may be high: to the student, who must bear the weight of unanticipated expenditures, and to postsecondary institutions and the public that supports them, who must bear the burden of ineffective use of resources--human as well as financial--and the loss to society that accompanies such waste.

It is of central importance, then, that those concerned with the organization and financing of postsecondary education address the question of how to reduce the high cost of transferring.

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